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ABSTRACT

These papers were presented at a series of conferences on language and cultural differences organized by the Texas Education Agency to help school administrators deal with bilingual education, racial integration, and implementation of court orders. The papers address five areas of concern: the concept and definition of culture, culture and the arts, culture and educational aptitude, culture and language, and culture and social institutions. The following papers are included: (1) Confluence of Texan Cultures in Curriculum Planning by Melvin P. Sikes, (2) What Do We Mean by Culture and What Does This Have to Do with the Schools? by Roger Abrahams. (3) Culture and Communication: Clashes in the Classroom by Manuel Pacheco, (4) What is Dialect? by Lois Jean Hart, (5) Culture and Communication: Clashes in the Classroom by Gustavo Gonzalez, (6) Roles of the Schools Toward Cultural Groups by Earl Jones, (7) The Trichroism of the Arts by Hugo D. Marple, (8) Children's Folklore by Richard Bauman, (9) Culture and Educational Aptitude by E. W. Rand, (10) Culture and Educational Testing by Earl Jones, and (11) The Uses of Biculturalism by Chester Christian. (CHK)

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Collected Papers

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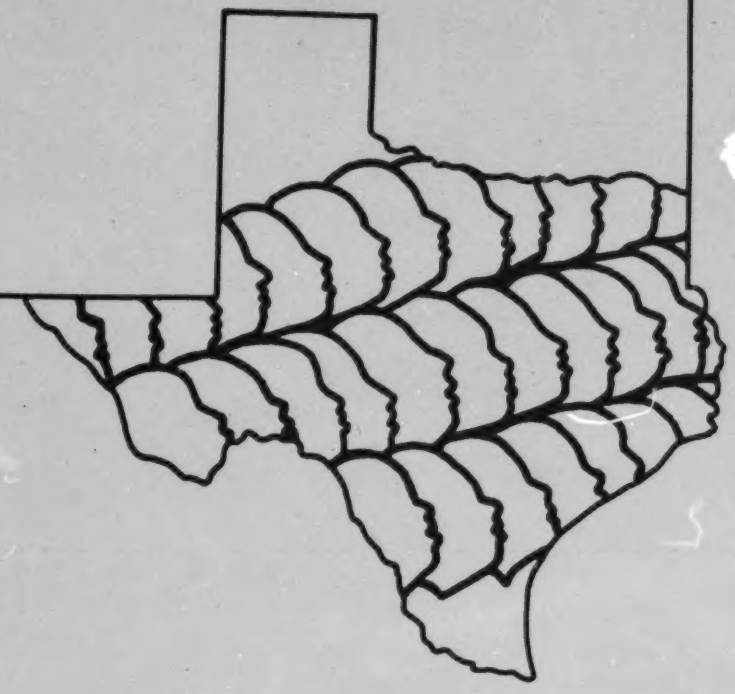

Texas Education Agency

1973

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Preface

During 1972-73 the Texas Education Agency sponsored the first in a series of conferences to help school administrators deal positively with bilingual education, racial integration, and the implementation of court orders. The sessions for superintendents, supervisors, principals, counselors, and school board members provided them with information on language and cultural differences that some children bring to school.

Attitudinal change in the administrators about such differences was the goal of these conferences. Administrators should become perceptive about opportunities and problems inherent in language and cultural differences, innovative in their response, and willing to seek outside assistance in such a response.

The idea for these conferences came from the Consulting Committee on the Confluence of Texan Cultures, a committee of specialists--from anthropologists to dramatists--appointed by the State Board of Education to assist the Texas Education Agency in formulating programs which enhance the concept of cultural confluence in Texas public schools. The consulting committee identified administrators as an ideal target group for information on language and culture, since this group has the responsibility for providing instructional leadership. The conferences for administrators also formed part of the response to a court order the Texas Education Agency is under to provide equal educational opportunity to all children on every campus.

In planning the conference model, the Texas Education Agency staff identified five areas of concern:

- The concept of culture--Definition of the concept of culture and discussion of cultural differences, and the relationship of culture to educational programs

- Culture and the arts--The fine arts as the expressive dimension of culture

- Culture and educational aptitude--A refutation of any concept of a given race or ethnic group having more or less aptitude than another

- Culture and language--The development of an appreciation for linguistic variety, the means of reducing linguistic interference in the classroom, and the means of building on the strengths of various codes

- Culture and social institutions--A presentation of information about the various kinds of institutions in various cultures

Three conferences were held during 1972-73, at San Antonio, Houston, and Dallas. The papers that follow represent most of the presentations given at the three conferences. They cover all five areas of concern. Written texts were not available for the other presentations, some of which were largely audio-visual presentations.

Confluence of Texan Cultures In Curriculum Planning

Melvin P. Sikes

I have no real objection to a conference title such as "Confluence of Texan Cultures in Curriculum Planning." It sounds very imposing. However, I would like my remarks to be directed more specifically toward the issues and problems confronting this area in a day of social change, rather than merely to indicate how "nice" a multicultural society can be. I would like to talk, not as a professional nor as one who has all the answers, but as a person caught up in the frustrations presented to minority group persons as a result of what we call "cultural differences" and the inability of the average American to accept this "difference."

Despite the high-sounding phrases of our Constitution and of all the empty promises of equality of opportunity, the great melting-pot myth, and other facets of the American dream (which could more realistically be called the American nightmare), we continue to bury our heads in the sand and to pretend that things aren't really too bad. We seek very simplistic solutions to our problems or we ignore documents that point out disturbing facts, e.g., the Kerner Commission report.

The fact that we must have such a conference after these hundreds of years is a clear admission of our sins of commission and ommission. Before we can deal with the problems resulting from our refusal to accept persons who are different, we must admit that our behaviors in education

have been largely bigoted if not racist. Such an admission is to be commended, for it points the way to change. To deny our failure to teach real democracy is to continue to play the game of the ostrich.

I want to discuss culture and language, culture and social institutions, culture and the arts, and culture and educational aptitude from the standpoint of their presenting options. Do language differences present a barrier or an opportunity? Do social institutions present the possibility for growth and development or are they destructively restrictive? Are the arts to be appreciated for their true contribution to our life space or are they to be seen as an overextension of the abilities of a rather interesting group of "different" people? How closely do we tie culture and educational aptitude? Are we still caught up in the myth of the I. Q. ? Do blacks have a distinctively different culture? Language? These are only samples of the kinds of questions that must be raised if we are to recognize the serious nature of our responsibilities at this conference. Let me say further that, if we discuss these areas in a vacuum or outside the total context of a total environmental impact, we do violence to our purpose for being here. I am saying, for example, that, if we look at the drop-out situation as it relates to the Mexican American and try simply to indicate that this individual, solely because of his cultural background, cannot cope with "our" educational material, we will only be further deluding ourselves. We have to face the fact that we may have been guilty of driving him away from school because of our own stereotyped attitudes toward the Mexican American--attitudes that we refuse to relinquish. In addition, if we attempt to force individuals from different cultures to give up all of their heritage in order to be more fully accepted by us, we are denying them the one thing that we have promised, that is, freedom to be. We are placing value judgments upon their being and saying, "Because you're not like me you are wrong or bad."

Understanding other cultures is not enough. In the past the understanding of other cultures has almost been "accidental learning," but even then the knowledge was just an educational fringe benefit. In the present we must not make it an extracurricular activity with no direct relationship to the funded knowledge of the human race. We must not use this conference to pay cognizance to the fact that we are a multicultural society and then go on with business as usual. New curricular offerings must not say to the student, "We are now recognizing you and adding you to the history of this country." Rather it must say, "You are an integral part of American history, and we have found the courage to recognize you as Americans and as having helped to make America an outstanding country."

The problems of integration, bilingual education, and cross-cultural understanding are not based only on understanding other cultures. The solution to such problems is based on a true acceptance and the positive utilization of a multicultural society. The primary goal of any such meeting as this must be equality of opportunity and equal access to the "good." It must be more than just a cultural "museum-in-action." It must be a rededication to those principles that guarantee the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. It must serve eventually to remove the question mark that nonwhite students place at the end of the Pledge of Allegiance to the flag. This conference on the confluence of Texan cultures and curriculum planning could signal the start of a new day in education. Properly utilized, it could be a beginning that carries its own benediction.

What Do We Mean by Culture and What Does This Have to Do with the Schools?

Roger Abrahams

Let me begin by stating my position with regard to our educational system before I get into my anthropologist-type argument. I firmly believe that the American public is demanding of the schools that they fill a place in the American social system that is impossible for any institution to fill without other kinds of cultural support. We have in the last 100 years undergone a family revolution induced by technological change; yet we ask the schools to teach and insist upon a system of morals derived in the main from our family-based society and our agrarian or small-town way of looking at life of a century ago. The schools are asked, therefore, to stand up for a kind of old-line American behavior which life in the home not only seldom supports but actually in many ways inadvertently contradicts.

Furthermore, the schools are caught in another bind, this one directly relevant to my theme today--the plurality of cultures in American life. For some time now, as an extension of our basic American principles of freedom and liberty, we have been teaching that different peoples operate in different ways and that this is one of the features of greatness of human society. Generally we have taught our students about this greatness-in-diversity by looking at the life ways of foreign peoples, those living in groups that we can immediately observe to be culturally different because not only their language but their practices and beliefs are so different from ours. Thus, cultural differences come

to be one of the most important parts of our curriculum concerned with human alternatives.

Then we go on to teach that freedom and liberation mean learning to recognize the greatest number of life alternatives that are available to us and how the student may, by rationally surveying his own strengths and interests, choose among life's alternatives both in choice of career and life style. But when the student chooses a life style, a cultural way of behaving, which is significantly different from the traditional Euro-American way of operating, we then feel that we have to say to him or her, "No, that's not what we meant by freedom. We don't mean that these other cultural styles were included in your choices." At this point in their most transitional time of life, our students hear us say, "Do as I do and have always done, not as I say or teach." You will have to admit that we have trouble facing up to this seeming contradiction, a contradiction which is seen as hypocritical by many of our students. Because we haven't faced up to it, we haven't worked out reasonable strategies for explaining what we really mean to teach, especially with regard to alternative life styles, alternative ways of living.

On this occasion I hope to be able to explain to you how we have gotten into this pedagogical bind and suggest some things that we might think about in developing new strategies and, more important, new attitudes toward the relationship between the school system and the students it attempts to serve. But before I can do this, I must address myself to the primary question asked in the title of this speech--What is culture?

Generally our introductory anthropology books tell us that culture is made up of the systems that a group works out for itself as a means by which the members of the group can achieve a satisfying life. Generally this means that culture consists of: the family system; the rules by which

the group is governed (the political system); the way in which exchanges of goods and services are effectively engineered (the economic system); and the way in which the members of the group and extra-personal or natural or supernatural forces are established and celebrated (the religious system). Culture then, most anthropologists would agree, is the sense of order which the group shares--the way in which it sees, in common, that the world is made up.

There are two domains of the environment that become important in such study, the natural environment and the social environment. Culture is the order of nature agreed upon by the group, the laws which natural forces seem to obey. Thus anthropologists study, among other things, the way in which each group classifies and uses such categories as trees and bushes, foodstuffs, colors, etc. We have found that both the categories of these things and the ways in which members of these categories are used differ significantly from one culture to another. Furthermore, culture has meant the orders of society that the group agrees upon, who belongs to the group and who doesn't, and what are the categories of people found within the group. The study of culture has been concerned with the different ways in which the group segments itself either in terms of roles--like teacher, preacher, student, dwarf, freak, postman, best friend--and by class and caste. Culture, therefore, as it has been useful as a descriptive term in anthropology has been primarily concerned with the agreed-upon orders of a group that considers itself a group and is so considered by outsiders.

But culture also has meant the ways in which the group gets together and celebrates this sense of community, this sense of shared orders, so that we have studied not only the systems of operating communities but also the ways in which the members of these communities get together and give expression to these orders. Consequently, there has been a good deal of study of ceremonies, rituals,

performances of myths and other kinds of stories, judicial proceedings, techniques of preventing calamities like disease and pestilence or of curing them if they descend upon the community or its individual members.

Recently the definition of culture has come to be modified by some anthropologists who have come to feel that describing these systems and ceremonies alone is not enough. Based on their actual experiences living and working with peoples of other cultures, they have found that simply learning the language and the systems of beliefs and practices did not equip them to live successfully within the group. They therefore figured out that anthropological description was missing something and that something, they have agreed, is the smaller and less self-conscious orders of the group, those systematic practices we call in our culture "good manners" or decorum. Culture, these "new ethnographers" say, is what a person has to know in order to live within a group on a minute-by-minute, hour-by-hour, day-by-day basis. These larger institutions, they argue, are put into operation not just by such celebrations as rituals and festivals but by the smaller, ongoing relationships and behaviors of everyday life.

This change in focus seems especially important for our present purposes of surveying the uses of culture in an understanding of what is happening in the schools today; for we educators, like the anthropologists of old, tend to look at our problems in terms of the breakdown of our systems, especially our value and ideal systems. But, what we mean by this, do we not, is that our agreed-upon systems of behavior have broken down. What, we ask, has happened to our children's manners and aspirations? They don't seem to want what we know they ought to want and furthermore they don't act the way they ought to act. It isn't then the collapse of our institutions that worries us so much as the behavior which we see all the time which tells us of such a collapse.

Perhaps I am making too fine a distinction here, but it seems to me to be a terribly important one because what I have found in traveling around the State and talking to teachers and administrators is not really that the moral system has broken down in general but that those in authority are constantly being frustrated and embarrassed by students who are not acting right in their eyes. It is this everyday kind of problem that we need to face up to.

One of the few things that we can say in general about all cultures is that, when individuals or groups of individuals act out of accord with the the agreed-upon manners of the group, the group's members will react by arguing that the offenders are not acting like human beings but more like animals. Such individuals, we rationalize, have no culture because they don't act in accordance with the agreed-upon orders and behaviors of the group. We assume that they do this because they have no sense of order. How often do we say of others (our students, people from the other side of the tracks, or those from half-way across the world who are suddenly threatening us) that they are animals? Or that they haven't grown up yet, learned to be adult, responsible human beings? But our training in the diversity of human groups, human cultures, has taught us that people coming from different places or acting strangely are probably doing so because they are operating by the orders of a different culture, an alternative, agreed-upon set of orders and behaviors. You see, it is easy for us to acknowledge that people may live by the life-ways of a different culture, but when we encounter actual behaviors of peoples of different cultures this is somehow too immediate for us and too threatening. We write such actions off then as being animalistic or childlike.

The lesson of anthropology is cultural diversity, cultural relativity. What this means then is that different cultures are simply different, not better, not worse. But remember that this is a rational perspective. It is only

too human on our own parts to judge other ways of behaving as being animalistic rather than simply different. We can do this only by training ourselves to do it. But, frankly speaking, the peoples within our midst in America who operate by different cultural rules and styles are neither going to let us ignore these differences nor let us write them off as being animalistic or childlike.

We are going to hear a lot about cultural pluralism in the next few years and about what a culturally pluralistic educational system might mean. It is only by understanding what culture is and how different groups can live side by side and yet maintain their distinctiveness that we will be able to really develop a culturally pluralist way of operating and put together a meaningful education for students of all cultures in our pluralistic Nation. Most important, as I suggested early in my lecture, this will call for a changed attitude on our parts. In our rush toward nationhood we have assumed that we must all learn to live as one. Unfortunately, what this has meant is that we have developed a concept of oneness in which one group has attempted to eliminate the language and cultural practices of the others because of a supposed numerical majority. To carry this out we developed in the 19th century such concepts as "national identity" and later the "melting pot" ideology. What we are being forced to recognize in the '70s is that many groups have not been allowed to melt, nor have they wanted to. There is no problem in recognizing immediately that the chicanos and the numerous Indian groups are culturally different from the dominant Euro-American middle-class culture because they speak a different language. It is a little more difficult to recognize this same kind of cultural difference in our black neighbors because the language difference between us and them is not so extreme. But differences there are, and all of us know what they consist of, if for no other reason than our immediate recognition of a parody of black speech.

But culture is far more than just language; most important for the schooling system, culture is based on a systematic set of behaviors learned at the earliest ages and carried by every student into the classroom. Here is where our own culture begins to get in the way of recognizing cultural differences. We tend to assume that a child, when he walks into the kindergarten or the first grade, has not learned very much about society--that is, about how to get along with others in the group and how to function, therefore, in a responsible manner.

Our major task in our educational system thus seems to be to teach the child to become a responsible citizen. Making the assumption that the child carries so little into the classroom is the first of our ethnocentricisms, that is, our culturally based judgments. Children of the lower class, whether blacks, chicanos, Indians, or the various Euro-American ethnic groups, learn a great deal of responsibility in the home. They come into the classroom with an already established attitude toward work as well as play, and both work and play are learned activities, the style of which differs from one culture to another. There is a big difference, for instance, between how a parent and a child interact from one group to another in learning the chores that they are expected to do within the family unit. We cannot assume, as we seem to, that all cultures pass on information of this sort mainly through question and answer. Most chores, it would seem, are learned by observation. Discussion becomes important only when the child is carrying out the operation ineffectively and is corrected. In both work and play among these various lower-class cultures, cooperation is stressed at the expense of individual invention. The black lower class child, for instance, learns most of his work tasks and games from the older children within his household. One can assume that by the time that a child gets into the early elementary grades that he has learned how to take care of the younger children, help in food preparation, run errands, do washing and ironing, and

so on. To make the assumption that these children have no sense of responsibility is, of course, not only to be culture-bound but to be arrogant.

The importance of such observations is that it may lead us to recognize that such a basic term in our culture as "work" needs to be constantly redefined. In Euro-American culture, work is defined as something which an individual does in order to demonstrate his individual abilities. But with children of lower-class cultures work may have already been defined for them as a cooperative activity. Thus a culture conflict will occur (and often does) when a child is given a work task by the teacher, has trouble doing it, and goes to another child in the class to get help with it. This would be a natural for him to do in his home environment. He will not understand when the teacher calls him down for getting such help; experience has taught him that this is appropriate behavior in learning a task.

There are numerous cultural mistakes of this sort going on in the schools all the time. The basic reason for the errors is that we assume that (1) the children are coming into the classroom without having learned very much in the home environment and (2) that there is only one way in which teaching and learning can be carried on, that is, between teacher and student. This is one of the major problems of being asked to act in loco parentis. We assume that we know what the parent-child relationship means, or ought to mean. But whenever we get into such an "ought to" situation, we ought to know that this is probably a sign that we may be ignoring the systematic behavior of another culture while insisting upon the validity of our own cultural norms.

I am arguing that we ought never to assume that any child is operating in terms of disorder or lack of respect when he acts differently from our expectations. Rather, we ought to assume that most children, but especially those from groups which are recognizably different from middle-

class Euro-Americans, are operating in terms of a different system of behavior--not a better one, not a worse one, just a different one. If we really wanted to maintain some sense of meaningful order in the classroom we would find out what the ways are by which peoples of the different American cultures around us maintain order in the household and in the community. Of course, to do this we have to assume that there are such order-maintaining techniques. We have to get over our feeling that peoples with black skins or brown skins or red skins or who live on the other side of the tracks in shacks, live by no system at all.

It is because we make mistakes on this basic, every-day level that it is important to conceive of culture as being made up not only of institutions and ideals but of behaviors which put those institutions and ideals into practice. If we are going to work out an education that will be suitable for all of our students it must take into account these cultural differences at all levels. Strangely enough I think you will find that in the area of ideals all Americans share a great deal more than they differ on and that it is only in the ways in which these ideals are taught and acted on that conflicts arise. If we really are concerned with learning about many alternative life ways and life possibilities and teaching these to our children in their pursuit for freedom, then we will open our eyes to the alternatives which exist in our own backyard. And we will regard these differences as our source of strength, as our well-springs of freedom, rather than as weaknesses and sources of division.

Culture and Communication: Clashes in the Classroom

Manuel T. Pacheco

In the limited amount of time allotted to me I am going to try to establish a framework within which you might be able to function in later deliberations in your small groups. Specifically, I am going to try to establish:

- That Spanish-speaking Mexican American children bring cultural and linguistic strengths into the classroom

- That the dialect of Spanish the child has is a legitimate and effective system of communication that must be accepted as such

- That the language acquisition process used by children in the Southwestern United States who speak Spanish is the same one used throughout the world to acquire any language

- That, having acquired a language, the child who attempts to acquire a second language can be expected to encounter interferences from the first language in the sound system, in the structural or grammatical system, and in the vocabulary

- That the terms culturally disadvantaged and linguistically disadvantaged have no meaning but that, as a result of the poverty status of many Mexican

American children, these children may be experientially disadvantaged or limited.

Let me start by saying that the word language, like culture, is a word that can convey different meanings to different people. For our purposes here it refers to an oral system of communication. As such, some of the characteristics of all languages are that (1) they are capable of describing events in the past, present, and future or actions and events that never occur; (2) they are all capable of dealing in abstractions which allow the speaker to speculate and to theorize; and (3) language is one method, perhaps the most important, through which the total way of life of a society or a segment of society is expressed and can be transmitted from one generation to another.

If those characteristics can be satisfied by the form of speech an individual uses and if the listener or group of listeners understand the communication, then that form of speech is a legitimate system of communication or language.

We all know that variations in language are normal and that they do exist. We would not presume to say, for example, that there are no differences in the pronunciation, vocabulary, and grammar of English as spoken in Boston, Chicago, Atlanta, Houston, and London. They all have differences but they are all classified under the umbrella term English even though the form each takes is a separate dialect. A simple illustration will suffice to show a marked difference in the pronunciation of the word half: [haf] [hæf] [haif] [haiaf] [hɔf] [hiaf].

Similar kinds of differences in dialects exist in the Spanish of Madrid, Buenos Aires, Mexico City, Los Angeles, Northern Mexico, and the Southwestern United States. But they all belong to the same language even though one dialect might be influenced more by the language with which it often comes into contact. For example, French in France

has adopted many English words that now are part of the language. Examples: le parking, le camping, le supermarket, le bowling. Similarly, all words ending in -ion in English were originally French words borrowed into the language. In fact, this is precisely one of the ways that languages change--by coming into contact with other languages in the region.

My point here is that the Spanish spoken in the Southwest is just as legitimate a form of communication as any other dialect of Spanish despite claims that what is spoken is Tex-Mex, Pocho, Spanglish, or any other pejorative term that may be used. If we use the logic that the language used is bastardized Spanish because words such as troca, huáchate, lonche are used, then by extension we have to say that English is a bastardized form of French and many other languages, since probably 75 percent of English is taken from languages other than Anglo-Saxon.

Another point here is that each dialect is just as valid as the other if it serves the purpose of communication, and to that extent there is no such thing as inferior and superior language or good and bad language. All we can say is that a form of language (dialect) differs from another form.

Southwestern Spanish has developed into a language of intimate communication in informal situations. It is almost exclusively the language of the home or the language to be used among friends in relaxed social situations and it is not the exclusive jargon of dope pushers and other lawless elements as some writers would have us believe.

Having, I hope, established that Southwestern Spanish is a legitimate dialect of the language, we can then postulate that a child whose dominant language is Spanish comes to school with a language background that is at least as legitimate as that of others in the school. That child may not have as much to talk about because:

- he or she may come from an economically deprived family that has not been able to provide the same educational experiences that other children have;

- the school may not recognize that it excludes the child's participation when it does not provide opportunities for the child to use his native medium of communication;

- conceptual development has been inhibited because instruction is provided only in English;

- the child's experiences within his cultural framework are looked upon negatively or as being inferior to traditional "all-American" activities;

- the cultural values in the youngster's home and society are looked upon as being alien to the "American" culture.

Now, looking specifically at the cultural characteristics of Mexican Americans, I want to use a few language examples to show that differences do exist and that language and culture are interdependent. That this is true is supported by statements by the anthropologist and linguist Benjamin Lee Whorf and Edward Sapir who both insist that our thinking and way of life is influenced by the language we speak and that the language we use is influenced by our way of life.

In Spanish we find evidence of this thinking in two maxims. "Cada cabeza es un mundo" tells us that people live in different worlds of reality or literally "Every head is a different world." The other, "Hablar dos idiomas es ser dos personas," says that, if you speak two languages, you can have two perceptions of the world and function as if you were two separate persons. Thus, in acquiring a language a child also acquires a perception of the world. That separate perceptions are represented by different languages can

be illustrated by the following example having to do with respect and courtesy in Spanish and English.

When introducing ourselves in English we might say, "My name is John Doe; I'm pleased to meet you," and that introduction is quite sufficient. In Spanish, we would say, "Permítame presentarme, Fulano de Tal a sus ordenes." A translation into English sounds stilted and submissive but would be quite natural in Spanish. In the expression, words such as "Allow me to introduce myself. John Doe at your service" would have to be used to convey the totality of the intent. Even that is quite inadequate if the degree of respect or formality in the word permítame as opposed to permíteme is taken into account.

Another example of the relationship between language and culture is shown in the following expression; "vamos a comer" or "vamos a echar un trago" which mean much more than just "Let's go eat" or "Let's go have a drink." In Spanish, the person doing the inviting is also assuming the responsibility to pay; whereas in English, it's normally "dutch treat" unless it is a dating situation.

And still another difference is illustrated when we consider that it is normal to call before you visit someone so that the wife or someone can prepare something special and to clean up a bit before the arrival. In the Mexican American community, a person is allowed to drop by anytime--even if it's at dinner time. When we say, "Aqui tiene su casa," or "Make yourself at home," that is taken more literally in Spanish.

Obviously, the child who grows up in such a cultural milieu will exhibit many of the same behaviors and attitudes in school. They need to be accepted for what they are--different perceptions and attitudes about the world and people around him.

When this does not occur, then another attitude comes into play. And that is that the Mexican American respects his neighbor and everyone around him, but if he is "messed with" just once unjustly, the second time could easily turn him off. Unfortunately, that second time occurs very often very early in the child's school career and many times it is unintentional on the part of the teacher or the school administrator, but it happens nonetheless. The solution many times is just simply to recognize the student's behavior as a manifestation of his cultural background which has as much value and strength as everybody else's. When the classroom is not designed to accommodate him, his development is negative and the child feels instantly rejected. He is expected to show behavior different from those with which he has learned to feel comfortable. He is forced to function in one world at home with a particular set of social rules and another very different set of rules at school. He loses his sense of identity and begins to feel inferior to those students whose background allows them to feel comfortable in the traditional classroom.

His other choice is to reject the behaviors he learns in the classroom, and turn a deaf ear to the teacher. Freedom and relevant learning begin when the bell rings and school is out. In time, the situation becomes unbearable and the child is forced to drop out. The school has influenced him. He has learned that he is a failure, that he is not "smart" like the rest, and that there is no respect for those who are not smart. When he leaves he is not the hero rejecting the institution but rather a failure who has been rejected. And this will be the pattern of his life. He will think he is a second-rate citizen and he probably will be treated as such.

What Is Dialect?

Lois Jean Hart

Each human being is as individual in speech as in fingerprints. Each human being has his own idolect, his own individual dialect. In physics laboratories, sound spectographs make sound spectograms--visible pictures of speech. These pictures show the infinite variations--actually we cannot repeat a single sound identically even once. Our naked ears cannot hear the tiny variations, but the sound spectograph senses and records them.

Idiolects group into dialects. Dialect means a variety of language spoken by a distinct group of people in a definite place. A dialect varies in pronunciation, vocabulary, and grammar from other varieties of the same language.

Often the line between a dialect and a language is hard to define. One is enough like the other to be understandable to speakers of both. For example, American English and British English are dialects of the same language. Great Russian and White Russian are dialects of the same language.

In ordinary conversation, some people take dialect to mean "a corrupt form of the language." This view puts the cart before the horse. In the 15th century, many dialects flourished in England. The dialect of London won over the other dialects and became the standard for speakers of English because London was the commercial, political, and cultural center of England. Non-Londoners continued to speak their local dialects, which often preserved older forms lost in the standard language. These local dialects did not have the prestige of the London dialect even though they were as old as it was, if not older.

In the United States, by contrast, no one dialect of American English has become the recognized National Standard. (Note our last three presidents: Kennedy, Johnson, Nixon. Which one represents standard dialect?) In the 19th century, some people valued a "Harvard accent," the New England dialect of Boston and Cambridge, seats of learning, literature, and wealth. Today such treasures are not concentrated in one place, and no regional dialect predominates as "correct."

Snobbery about dialects is still very much in evidence. In a discussion about the life of President Johnson, on the January 24 (1973) television special, "Some Friends of LBJ," former Secretary of State Dean Rusk made the following observation on the reason for the President's unpopularity in some quarters: "Some people will accept a Harvard or an Oxford or a Yiddish accent, but they feel anyone with a Southern accent is a little stupid." You might ponder that sometime. (Note Bobby Burns, Scotland's famous poet.)

Specialists in the field of linguistics are in agreement about the following concepts: (1) linguistically speaking, there are no illogical language varieties and, hence, no languages or dialects which impose cognitive deficits. For example, languages such as Spanish or French and dialects (nonstandard white and black speech) that use double negatives to indicate one underlying negative statement are every bit as logical as languages which indicate one negative construction ("He didn't do nothing," "He didn't do anything"). (2) Linguists stand united against popular misconceptions about so-called illogic and cognitive limitations of nonstandard dialects such as black English, Appalachian white speech, and working class New York people.

(3) Linguists are further united in their insistence that all languages and dialects are adequate communicative systems. It is difficult to find a linguist who subscribes to the position that calls for the eradication of nonstandard dialects in favor of standard English. I personally take the

position with those who endorse bidialectism (i.e., the philosophy that standard English is an additive dialect to be used in certain social situations instead of a replacement dialect which eradicated the indigenous dialect). Simply stated: Give the student choices. It is highly unlikely that we can erase all traces of his original dialect anyway.

In the United States, linguistic geographers have discovered three main dialect areas--Northern, Midland, Southern--stretching from east to west across the continent. These dialect areas are clearest on the Atlantic coast, where they reflect the original patterns of settlement. The farther west we go, the more the dialect areas blend and fuse, mirroring the westward migration. This accounts for the differences in pronunciation:

> pass, pahs; father, fatha; towel, tile; Mary, Merry; wash, warsh; greasy, greecy; horse, hoarse; blouse, blowze.

Language is a cultural characteristic, reflecting our history, geography, and social contacts. American education is finally showing awareness of the fact that we must study the speech of people who are prevented by any reason--economic, race, religion, or national background--from reaching the success which they are capable of. Studying the speech of a particular group will help us to understand and appreciate the group itself. Too many people still fight the Civil War via language. Many Northerners need to learn that Southern and Midland speech is not necessarily substandard; many Southerners and Midlanders need to learn that a Northern speaker is not just "conceited." Many need to learn that climate, thickness of lips, or skin color has absolutely nothing to do with speech.

Specific problems that arise accidently can sometimes be traced to language. White citizens in Las Vegas, Nevada, only recently learned that black citizens in that city prefer

not to be called "colored people." This sort of situation can cause one group to feel uncomfortable or even insulted, though the other group had no idea their choice of words was offensive.

The study of speech, therefore, may benefit:

- the person whose speech keeps him from the success he wants--so that he can learn acceptable forms--and

- the person who has already learned at least some acceptable forms--so that he will not scorn acceptable speech from other parts of the country, from other social levels, or from other races. (Teachers usually are limited to one dialect.)

We must look to Africa to understand some of the linguistic aspects of black speech. Slavery dissipated the cultural patterns the African brought with him to this country. The first slaves were young males, a group unlikely to maintain and transmit cultural patterns. More important, the slave masters shattered tribal groups, fearing the possibilities of conspiracies which tribal groups sharing a common language could develop. Denied the use of his native tongue, the slave faced the necessity of learning the slave owner's language. We do have some African survivals in the American vocabulary: tote, goober, cooter (from kuta for turtle), biddy, juke box (Sengalese Juke), okra, gumbo, zebra, elephant, ebony, turnip, canary, parsnip, oasis.

A look at some of the linguistic features of African language can help us to understand how the slave accommodated himself to English. Today a few black people living on the isolated sea coast islands of South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida speak a unique language called Gullah. Gullah, or Geechee, has its own grammar and retains close and significant West African features because these people and their descendants have been on these islands since they were brought to this country as slaves.

Word order in West African languages and Gullah differs from English syntax, but one example of the variation is particularly relevant. In question structures, be is omitted between pronoun or noun subject and the predicate. "Hu hi" and "Hu dat" are Gullah questions which, when translated, are "Who is he?" and "What is that?" When the young black child says, "Where he going?" his dialect may reflect a West African linguistic system.

Another characteristic of black language is a leveling of verb forms. In West African languages, especially, Ibo and Twi, verb forms rarely inflect. There is no singular form. When the black child says, "He go to work regular now," there may be a historical precedent for the uninflected form.

Similarly, West African languages apparently give little significance to tense in verb forms. Consequently, in struggling to adapt to the needs of the English verb, the slave may have had a linguistic indifference to tense.

Be is also sometimes missing as a part of the auxiliary in sentences where participial forms should occur after be. "He going tomorrow" can occur just as often as "He be going tomorrow" where there is an absence of alternate inflected forms.

Yet these are not serious deviations from the syntax of English. The black child understands the word order of English sentences just as well as the cultivated user of the language. His American experience has seen to that. We should further remember two more important facts:

> First, black dialect is Southern in origin. The entire life style has emerged from the South, taking on urban characteristics as black people migrated through the years. This means that black dialect retains many characteristics of Southern regional flavoring in addition to its own distinct black flavoring.

Second, many features in the dialect of the black child are common to all nonstandard speech. Examples: "Me and him went," "Him and I did it," "hisself," "theirself," "I seen him." Finally, the double negative appears constantly. Its most expressive use has been in blues and soul lyrics, where to change them would destroy the semantic effectiveness of the expression. "I don't want nobody" reveals the tonal usefulness of such an idiom. (Louis Jordon's "I'm gonna move way on the outskirts of town" wouldn't be the same as "I'm going to change my place of residence.")

The oral tradition brought to this country by the African slave is one of the most identifying characteristics of black culture. This means that the black student is highly verbal, and expertly so. Note first graders--as they move up they grow quieter. Many of these students are firmly convinced by that time that they are stupid because they have been told all their lives that they are stupid. They clam up because they are suspicious of middle class people. We should not be critical of this. It is part of their smartness to question and to test with deeds and to watch you very slowly. It is the deeds and the nonverbal interactions, communications, and relationships that occur in situations not in the school room, the social worker's office, the doctor's office, the hospital, but relationships that occur in playing in the street--stick ball, dancing, playing games, and bouncing around. In that context you begin to get dimensions of the truth about people who surprise and jolt you. Perhaps their seeming lack of ability to learn may be attributed to the fact that they offend the teacher's style. Maybe we should take a good look first at ourselves, at our intolerances rather than at them for their inabilities. Because a person doesn't wish to talk with you, don't suddenly jump to the conclusion that he is nonverbal. Learn why you shut him out. Black children can be quite verbal on things they can see and do--physical stimuli. In favorable situations, they can verbalize.

Slavery in America dictated that blacks behave obsequiously if they were to survive with some degree of integrity intact. Grace Sims Holt, associate professor in the department of speech and theater, the University of Chicago, points out: "The American Indian, in offering physical resistance, was practically exterminated by the whites. The Negro had to find a different type of resistance in order to continue to multiply and grow in spite of every sadistic effort to destroy him in some areas."

Blacks gradually developed their own ways of conveying resistance using "the man's" language as a defense against subhuman categorization. If you are without power, it is still essentially your only way of expressing your powerlessness and get away with it.

Playing verbal games with whites resulted in such forms as "tomming," "the put-on," and more recently "doing the Tom Jones." Manipulation was possible because whites would not believe that blacks were capable of outthinking them. Blacks knew this, and many used that knowledge to verbally change the power relationship, for power is the ability to redefine. Blacks intentionally behaved in ways which whites perceived as inappropriate but by which they were flattered, elevating "whitey" to a status they both knew he didn't occupy, invoking praise and ridicule simultaneously. The patrolman became a police "chief," the ex-private was elevated to "Cap'n," the ex-captain to "colonel." The joke goes, "It was so flattering, whites didn't have the heart to deny it."

Blacks clearly recognized that to master the language of whites was, in effect, to consent to being mastered by whites. Inversion, therefore, becomes the defensive mechanism which enabled blacks to fight linguistic and, thereby, psychological entrapment.

Words and phrases were given reverse meanings. Whites could interpret the same material only according to its original meaning, thus enabling blacks to deceive and

manipulate whites without penalty. This protective process, understood and shared by blacks, became a contest of matching wits, the stake in the game being survival with dignity. The purpose of the game was to appear to but not to.

Take the word nigger as the prime example. When used by whites it has only one meaning, though the degree of degradation may vary with the users. When used by blacks, the word is often used as a term of affection, admiration, approval; it is a word of positive connotation, a contradiction of original intent. It is also used by blacks to convey feelings synonymous with the meanings given the word by white users. For example, approval: One black will say to another, "You're my kind of nigger." When speaking of whites, blacks often show their admiration by making such statements as "He's as slick as a nigger." In a 180-degree switch, blacks will use the term in the same manner as it is used by whites: "Nigger business," "Niggers ain't----(Use your own four letter word)." Many times I've been asked by whites why blacks use the term nigger among themselves when its use by whites amounts to a declaration of war. The answer is obvious; the word has an inverted meaning when used by blacks.

English uses the adjective black to denote a quality not considered desirable by white society. When used by whites in reference to Negroes it is appended to some other term of approbation or disapprobation. Examples of the former are "He's a black dentist," "You're on my black list." An example of the latter is "He's a black----(use your own four letter word)." Blacks invert the word and it becomes a noun, not describing an attribute, but naming a group. "Black is ..." Blacks' adoption of the noun black represents a determination to call themselves by any name other than that used by whites. Whites, by virtue of their power, define black as representing all that's bad. Blacks wrest from whites the power to define; ergo, the term black is made respectable and good.

What you have accomplished, in taking "the man's" strongest weapon and using it to your advantage, is to denude him of verbal power, and by implication to free yourself from the psychological bondage that hate labels impose. Liberation begins with language. If you're wondering why I have discussed the topic of inversion, it is to clear the air. From the point of view of linguistic competence, inversion is of little importance; but, from the standpoint of communicative competence, the importance of inversion has implications that perhaps many of you have not realized. For a teacher to be effective in working with black students, she needs to be able to communicate effectively, and if she lacks certain understandings, then I predict failure--failure for the teacher as well as the student.

Teaching Techniques

Our function in the main is to make the black student aware of the choices available to him. In helping pupils acquire the ability to speak standard English, a teacher may:

1. Steep himself in dialect awareness. This will enable him to develop a positive attitude toward all dialects.

2. Talk to the children, but by all means listen to them.

3. Tape an off-the-record conversation of his speech to determine his own speech rate; then be careful that he doesn't talk too fast in the classroom.

4. Make use of the tape recorder in the classroom to help youngsters become familiar with their own speech patterns.

5. Limit oral instructions in the classroom to help youngsters until the understanding level of the students has been determined.

6. Place more emphasis on listening. For older students, devise listening activities based on their music.

7. Discuss sounds of printed words with students.

8. Use role-playing activities in oral language development.

9. Read aloud often to pupils.

10. As often as possible, share with pupils examples of misunderstandings traceable to a misperception of what was said. Encourage them to engage in the same exercise.

11. Make certain that the racial and ethnic background of each student is treated with recognition and respect.

12. Capitalize on the black strength of cooperativeness by the use of peer tutoring.

As an administrator, you have a real responsibility to see that the school's curriculum is adjusted so that these understandings become an integrated part of the daily program.

Briefly let me repeat the major points of this presentation:

1. Each human being has his own individual dialect.

2. There is no "standard" dialect in America.

3. There are no illogical language varieties.

4. Black dialect has logic and validity.

5. All languages and dialects are adequate communicative systems.

6. The student should be taught that there are alternate ways of expressing himself, and he should be given a choice.

7. Blacks use inversion as a defense against subhuman categorization.

As an educator, remember that it is your job to prepare active independent-minded, democratic citizens, taking responsibility for solving society's problems. If a parent protests, "For goodness sakes; all I want is for Johnny to graduate and go to college!" be ready to reply that if that's all he wants, democracy is doomed, for there's no divine guarantee that it will survive.

In conclusion, I suggest that some of us stop playing games and pause long enough to come down from our little ivory towers and do some soul searching if we expect to remain in the public schools. We face numerous problems, but I personally am convinced that the attitudinal problem toward intricate and unique nonstandard dialects spoken in American society is probably the biggest problem we face. Recognize, also, that the clash is not just between whites and blacks; among other things, it is the young versus the old. These youngsters observe our acts of superciliousness, duplicity, hyprocrisy, and prejudice and recognize them for what they are, however much we may camouflage them with smooth and polished vocabularies. A few years ago, one popular slogan among youth in our nation was, "Don't trust anyone over 30!" Later, those who followed the drug culture didn't bother to tell us anything per se; they merely copped

out. If some of us are anti-black, anti-Jew, anti-white, anti-students, I suggest that, if the task of revising our attitudes is too great to do it alone, we should seek help.

Most of all, we should recognize that no single person will be the most effective. We need each other; all of you have much to give and all of your co-workers have much to give. Remember that all children are impoverished in some way; we cannot hurt some of them without hurting the rest of them.

I recognize that the school cannot do the job alone, but it is a good starting place and it can do a great deal toward alleviating some of the injustices done because people listen to educators. However, there must be jobs for its graduates and good neighborhoods for them to live in. There must be the opportunity for all to share the benefits and the responsibilities of the American way of life.

Culture and Communication: Clashes in the Classroom

Gustavo González

Most of the difficulties that have arisen in the education of Mexican American children can be traced to a failure on the part of the school to understand the child's linguistic and cultural situation. Usually, the school is geared to educate middle-class, English-speaking children; provisions are not made to address the special needs of those children whose maternal language happens to be other than English.

In such school systems, Mexican American children, who form the largest non-English-speaking group in the United States, are placed in situations that can best be described as sink-or-swim: either they learn English, understanding and producing it from the first day of class, or they fail. Either they keep up with the concepts being presented in this "foreign" language, or they can look forward to repeating the first few grades, gradually losing interest and, by the sixth or seventh grade, terminating their education by dropping out.

It's not a pretty picture, but studies focusing on the educational plight of the Mexican American have repeatedly shown that this is indeed the case. The child becomes frustrated with the educational system, since it is obvious that it holds no promise for him; he cannot relate to it. By the time he is eighteen and in the ninth grade, not even his parents' best efforts can convince him that he should stay in school and get the diploma.

When it comes to educating members of non-English-speaking groups, many educators and administrators embrace a rather narrow view. They see their school as the instrument with which to eliminate the child's home language, and they pursue it with missionary zeal. Through reprimands and sometimes even corporal punishment, they attempt to root out all traces of the foreign language, not realizing that to the children English is the foreign language. The best way to acculturate the child to the American system, they feel, is by replacing his mother tongue with English. Interestingly enough, this is supposed to happen without any special programs of any kind.

I feel most of the attitudes that prevail in situations like the one described above are caused by misinformation about bilingualism, about the Mexican American's language, and about dialects in general. Let us examine the linguistic situation of the Mexican American as it is today. Let's separate the myth from the reality.

Non-Spanish-speaking people of the Southwest exhibit a very curious attitude toward the dialect of Spanish spoken here. They tend to view it as corrupt, ungrammatical, a mixture of Spanish and English, and so on. Part of their belief stems from the number of English words that have been incorporated into the Southwest dialect of Spanish. When two languages come into contact with each other, as is the case in the American Southwest, they tend to borrow from each other. English has borrowed from Spanish and vice versa. Lasso, barbecue, mustang, and corral are but a few of the words that have passed from Spanish into English. Borrowings from English into Spanish include such words as parquear from English "to park," and espelear from English "to spell." The process is a natural consequence of sharing a common geographical border. It is worth noting that no one, to my knowledge, has called the English dialect of the Southwest corrupt becuase of its borrowings from Spanish.

The Mexican American of the Southwest speaks a dialect of Spanish that is different from that of Spain, Mexico, or Latin America. It is not superior, it is not inferior; it is merely different. It is linguistically adequate for the needs of the Mexican American child in communicating with his parents, peers, and community. My own research into the speech of five- and six-year-old Mexican American children of Texas has demonstrated beyond any doubt that the children do possess all the linguistic units necessary to express themselves, and they are quite capable of utilizing these units appropriately. They have a valid system of communication, different from other varieties of Spanish, but valid nevertheless.

Perhaps the most curious aspect of the Anglo attitude toward the Southwest dialect of Spanish is the fact that those who criticize it often don't even speak it. This has always puzzled me. Such observations from nonspeakers are as valid as criticism from a Mexican who speaks only Spanish about how poorly you speak English. He would have no basis on which to judge your performance in a language he doesn't even speak.

Probably the least understood of all is the Mexican American's English competency vis a vis his Anglo counterpart when they both enter the first grade. The Mexican American has a valid (but Spanish) system of communication; he speaks little if any English. Whatever English he may have been exposed to has been presented in an unsystematic way. The Anglo child, in contrast, has been exposed to English since birth; if he is normal he will have been speaking English for four years. By the time he enters the first grade, he has an adequate command of the language. He can follow the teacher's instructions, do what he is asked to do, and, in general, function well in the classroom environment.

The Mexican American not only faces a strange environment; he also faces a language that is foreign to him. Yet,

this rank beginner is expected to compete with children who have been speaking English for at least four years. Even though he does not know the language, he is somehow expected to understand and grasp the concepts that are being presented in this foreign tongue English. When one considers all the factors that weigh so heavily against the first grade Mexican American child, he begins to understand why so many Mexican American children repeat first grade.

This approach to the education of minority children is completely illogical, unrealistic, and wasteful of important human resources. Expecting the Mexican American child to compete successfully from the very first day in a language that is completely foreign to him makes no sense at all. This is tantamount to expecting beginning students in a foreign language class to keep up with students in their fourth or fifth year of the foreign language. No foreign language teacher would expect her beginning students to do as well as her fourth-year students. Yet aren't we expecting this from Mexican American students who know no English? Aren't we placing them in parallel situations year after year?

It should be made clear that the objection being raised here is not toward the learning of English. All Mexican Americans realize that they must learn English if they are to reap the benefits of this society. They want to learn English. The objection is rather to the manner in which the children are submersed in the language, without any regard to their mother tongue or without even presenting English gradually, in a logical sequence proceeding from simple to complex structures. The objection is to the negative attitude that prevails toward the child's variety of Spanish and the psychological damage that can result.

Part of the solution lies in having a positive attitude about the language that the child brings to school with him, and in knowing the differences and similarities between his language and English. Through a systematic comparison of

the two languages, a teacher can identify problem areas that are likely to arise. She can then devise lessons to remedy the situation. A few examples will illustrate my point.

The sound system of the Spanish spoken in the Southwest, in contrast to the Castillian dialect, does not contain the /θ/ sound found in such English words as thin, thick, and bath. Knowing this fact, we can anticipate difficulties with this sound on the part of Mexican American children and can prepare to deal with them. The child will tend to substitute a sound that is already a part of his language inventory; in this particular case, he would be apt to use the Spanish "t" for the /θ/ sound. We could expect him to say tin for thin, tick for thick, and bat for bath. Since the sound is not part of the system of his native language, we would first have to teach him how to produce it, then follow this with exercises of discrimination between such word pairs as tin/thin, bat/bath, and tick/thick.

You can perhaps better appreciate the contrastive approach if I use an example that might be more familiar to you. Suppose that you were taking a class in Spanish for the first time. One of the sounds you would surely have difficulty with would be the trill "r" as in radio (radio), puerta (door), or Roberto. The reason in this case would be the same as in the case of the /θ/ sound with Mexican Americans: The trill "r" is not part of the sound system of your native language. You have to learn how to produce it and then learn the situations in which to use it.

Another example of negative interference caused by the Spanish sound system, and perhaps the best known of all, is the substitution of "ch" for "sh." As with the /θ/ sound previously discussed, the "sh" sound does not occur in the dialect of Spanish spoken by Mexican Americans; only "ch" is found. The child proceeds to substitute his familiar "ch" sound for the alien "sh" sound. As a result, it is not unusual to hear a Mexican American child say chip for ship; chop for shop; witch for wish; or watch for wash.

But differences between the English and Spanish sound systems are not limited to the consonants, although possibly consonantal differences are easier to detect. Equally important are the differences encountered between the vowel systems of the two languages. The first difference lies in the number of vowels: Spanish has five simple vowels; whereas English has about nine. It becomes immediately apparent that the two systems will not match up. In his mastery of English, the Spanish-speaking child will need to acquire at least four new vowel sounds.

One of the most crucial vowels, perhaps because of its frequency, is what is often called the "short i." This sound is absent from Spanish, but can be heard in such English words as live, dig, big, and pit. The closest approximation to this sound in Spanish is in the vowel i as in si (yes). The child will thus use his Spanish sound in such English words as sit, bit, live, and pit, yielding words that have a different meaning in English: sit will become seat, bit goes to beet, live becomes leave, and pit will be rendered as Pete.

This substitution of Spanish i for English short i is a problem that I, even after years of speaking English, still have difficulty with on occasion. The word pair live/leave is especially troublesome. I have to think about which of the two sounds is appropriate to what I want to express; it does not come unconsciously, as do other parts of the English system. The influence from Spanish is still there. Other adults who learned English as a second language as I did, report the same persistent problem. Evidently it is one of the most difficult problems to overcome.

With the consonant as well as the vowel substitutions we have examined, the problem is twofold: First, the Mexican American child has to be taught to produce sounds that are foreign to his system and language habits. His tongue, lips, teeth, and other parts of the vocal apparatus have to be "retrained" to the point where they will produce the new sounds effortlessly. In the trill r example, you would

probably have to train your tongue for a considerable length of time before you could produce it without giving it a second thought.

The second part of the problem is more complicated. Once the child can produce the sounds properly and without difficulty, he must be taught to use the sounds in proper contexts. Accurate production is only the beginning. The second aspect involves the use of the brain and higher-level intellectual processes, not just the vocal apparatus. It involves consciousness on the speaker's part as to what he is trying to express, what message he is trying to convey. Any new sound brought into the child's system has to be accompanied by a definition of the role that the sound will play in the language.

In the acquisition of the foreign sound "sh," for example, the child first has to master the physical side of producing the sound, then he must be made aware of the importance of using this sound for another; that using "sh" instead of "ch" will change the meaning of words like ship/chip and wash/watch. He must be made conscious that the use of one sound or the other will have a direct bearing on communicating one's message accurately.

Since the attainment of this goal involves higher-level processes, it should come as no surprise that appropriate use will require much practice. Some children, particularly those that begin learning English after age twelve, find it unusually hard to use the sounds in their appropriate settings.

The native language has influence in other areas as well. Consonant groups are a case in point, In English, there are many words that begin with the consonant groups sp-, st-, sk- (as in spin, stick, skin). The Spanish system does not allow such consonant groups at the beginning of words; we can thus fairly accurately predict that Spanish speakers will have difficulty pronouncing such groups. The

Mexican American student will tend to add an e- to the beginning of any word beginning with the consonant groups mentioned earlier, bringing them in line with what is allowable under the Spanish system. Stick will be rendered as *estick; skin will become *eskin; and spin will be produced as *espin. Many other examples of this can be cited, among them *eschool, *estreet, *espell, and *esky (for school, street, spell, and sky, respectively).

Probably the most noticeable conflicts occur in the realm of syntax, or the order of words in a sentence. We can usually tolerate mispronunciations of different types, dismissing them as "a funny accent" in the child's speech. But word order is a different matter; the break in communication that can occur as a result of jumbled word order is too serious to be thought of as "cute" or "charming."

Word order is critical in English. That such is the case can be readily illustrated by two equally grammatical sentences, The dog chased the man and The man chased the dog. Each has the same elements; the only difference lies in the sequential arrangement of those elements. This difference in arrangement is responsible for the difference in meaning between the two sentences. The arrangement of the elements in the first sentence, The dog chased the man, tells us that the dog is the actor and that the man is receiving the action.

The second arrangement, The man chased the dog, indicates to us that it is the man doing the chasing this time. The dog is the object of his endeavors. The mere rearrangement of the items that combined to form the sentence now gives us a meaning that is the opposite of the original sentence. That word order is essential in English is further illustrated by the fact that no native speaker of English would ever confuse the two sentences; no speaker of English would use the first word order for the meaning expressed by the second word order.

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* The asterisk is a linguistic symbol to indicate that the form is unacceptable.

Spanish and English differ in the word arrangement allowed in sentences. These differences surface when one observes the trials and tribulations of a Mexican American student learning English. One type of error that he is likely to make concerns the positioning of certain modifying adjectives relative to the noun. In Spanish, adjectives equivalent to English green, small, and big usually follow the noun. Thus, in describing a house in Spanish, one would say la casa verde (the green house), la casa grande (the big house), and la casa chica (the small house).

English word order demands that in such cases the adjective precedes the noun, as in the green house, the big house, and the small house. Given this difference between the languages and the influence of Spanish on the child's learning of English, we can expect the child to reverse the order of the noun and modifying adjective, producing such deviations as *the house big, *the house green. Many more examples can be provided; time limitations, however, do not allow us to discuss any further examples. General areas where other deviations occur because of Spanish influence include negation, question formation, and the expression of possessives.

During the past few minutes, we have explored some of the types of interference that can be predicted from knowing both English and Spanish language systems. We have by no means covered them all; such coverage would require at least a semester of college work. In presenting this brief sample of contrasts, I hope to have made you aware of the tremendous obstacles facing the Mexican American as he attempts to master English. I hope I have made you aware of how unrealistic it is to expect the Mexican American child to pick up the language just by sitting in class with children who are vastly superior in their command of the language.

Language drills based on the types of contrasts I've described begin to address themselves to the dilemma. But

this is not enough. Great patience and understanding are required and, perhaps even more important, acceptance of the child in his totality, including the language he brings from home. Acceptance of the child's language will enhance his self-image; he will be better motivated to learn from you; the whole learning atmosphere will be greatly improved.

Quality education for everyone should be the concern of all of us. Because of the Mexican American's unique linguistic situation, this goal can best be achieved through bilingual education. By capitalizing on the child's linguistic strengths, by providing the necessary positive reinforcement, we can move closer to the day when equal educational opportunity will no longer be a dream but a reality.

Roles of the Schools Toward Cultural Groups

Earl Jones

The function of any school is to assist society in producing men and women who can participate fully in the social and economic life of that society. That implies a reasonable efficiency in making a living. It presumes a satisfactory level of psychological well-being. It subsumes, furthermore, the contribution of a happy, productive individual to the goals of the society.

If the school is to carry out this function, it must conscientiously address itself to the individual, for there is no other vehicle wherein society's goals can be articulated. That is, each brain must be brought to comprehend and accept the aims and then not only live by them but also enrich them through contributions and interpretations, and finally inculcate them in others. The cold, hard fact is that the school must persuade each person entrusted to its care that the system has something worthwhile to offer, bring each person to know the essential content of that offering, and equip each one to effect the change required to keep society viable.

To accomplish these tasks, the school must, of course, know what it's doing and with whom it's working. We seem to have very little difficulty in mastering the necessary facts of mathematics, history, language, and the other subjects. We're comfortable with these; there's surprisingly little to argue about concerning them. We also know a lot

about school buildings and basketballs and textbooks and cafeterias. And we know quite a bit about teaching, even though the results would seem sometimes to say otherwise.

Our greatest gaps of ignorance appear to be in the realm of persuasion, the art of influencing others. Indeed, there are many who say that we have become masters of dissuasion, and they point with considerable acumen to the disaffection of middle class youth as prime evidence. And if you add to these the hundreds of thousands of lower class youngsters that never paid much attention to us, you may well wonder if we are progressing rapidly toward unschool.

But the harbingers of disaster, sounding their alarms across the countryside, have overstated their case: We are not only educating greater numbers of students to ever higher and higher levels; we are consistently reaching greater percentages of every socioeconomic group. Yet the quantity and quality of discontent with the school systems is greater than it has ever been. The problem lies in our apparent ability to reach every child and our obvious failure to do so.

The augmented percentages should pique our interest first: We can easily see that more schools and better access to them have had an appreciable effect. Forced and/or recruited attendance may have had at least some small beginning influence. Attractive offerings no doubt can be cited as important. Awakened hopes and desires among the minority students undoubtedly contributed.

Still, as I work with schools, students, and parents across the State, it becomes increasingly obvious that the changes are not really very imposing, and the perception of these changes is even less. These changes are good and were needed, but they are not the essence of the increased school participation.

It might be difficult to prove scientifically, but I'd lay odds that at least 90 percent of the increased attendance and, no matter what the critics say, greater education, is due to teachers, particularly elementary teachers.

Three and four decades ago, elementary teachers began to accept each child as an individual, where he was and what he was. They willingly learned to make separate assessments of progress and work with each one to help him move forward at a reasonable individual pace. This immediately created a climate characterized by much less harshness, much less negativism than before. Integration gave this philosophy a few jolts, but they rolled with the punches and soon found themselves able to work with most children in their room.

Thus, too, when a few years ago we began to talk about cultural plurality, they were able to find an acceptance in themselves that allowed most of them to accommodate some of their techniques and methods to this approach. The best fiesta I ever saw put on in a school was done by a black teacher who spoke no Spanish and an enthusiastic tricultural room full of kids. I've seen endearing and compassionate studies of Indians, Czechs, Germans, and other American groups.

And yet, serious problems continue to diminish what we should accomplish. We need to attack these problems vigorously and intelligently.

Within the broad realm of effecting multicultural education, we still have two broad problem areas:

- Inadequate teachers in multicultural education
- Weak system support of approaches to multicultural education

These problems are fundamental and, while we would not for one moment expect school officials to ignore the political and social realities of their districts, we propose that the problems can be solved through tact, information programs, and careful selection of personnel.

The first broad problem area mentioned was inadequate teachers. Let's lay the facts out coldly: We still have teachers who kill little kids--coldly, harshly, and surely. They do not accept children as individuals; they treat them as "job objects." They utilize negative approaches to behavior as conduct and as learning. They are punitive in situations of behavioral variation and overconcerned about noise and movement. They either do not recognize cultural differences or deal with them as aberrations from "normal" conduct. Psychoanalysis shows that they do not accept their own cultures or have intense guilt feelings because they themselves cannot live up to the standards instilled in them by others.

The solution, of course, is easy to state: Get rid of these teachers. They have no business in a classroom. They most certainly have no business in a classroom where multicultural education is supposed to be employed. If by some chance of politics or scarcity of quality candidates you must keep them in the system, for God's sake, move them up as high in the grades as possible--high school kids will fight back, for the most part, and refuse to succumb to their attitude. Little children, kindergarten through the first few grades, have few weapons and little power. The best many of them can do is knuckle under and learn to hate the teacher, their subjects, and the school. That teacher has created years of difficulty and caused low learning.

We also have some other teachers who are warm and positive toward children as individuals and who forgive or tolerate differences--they do not use culture as a teaching tool. These, of course, can be salvaged. They need

training, effective assistance from supervisors and specialists, encouragement to delve deeper into the world of American cultures.

Close examination of teachers involved in many intercultural training programs reveals that many of these teachers do not understand culture as a principle of life. They have had little or no social studies methodology courses, or their courses have ignored the issue. There are broad goals in multicultural education which must be embraced if the objectives are to be followed. There is also a very precise methodology which yields enormous benefits for ALL the children of ALL cultures in the room; they learn to know themselves and others through discovery, analysis, and acceptance.

The second broad problematic area of this discussion, mentioned previously, is the weak support of the system to multicultural education. Unfortunately, past administrators had to be the "ideal" of WASP culture. We, of course, still have some districts in which at least this appearance must be maintained. In most, however, it has merely become a "role," even a "habit." Our clients now expect us, for the most part, to educate everyone and a method, well explained, will find district acceptance. Oh, yes, you'll still have the old biddy from down the street complaining, but remember that she has always complained--and always will.

The best possible approach to reaching acceptance for bilingual, bicultural education--or any other good method for teaching youngsters--is providing a good information package to the people, the facts in an attractive, understandable form, without exaggerations or embellishments. In the case of multicultural education, the facts are clear: More students learn more in multicultural education than under any other method known up to now. It creates a climate that is beneficial to all students, not just those of the cultural minority. Individuals grow in their capacity to know and

accept themselves, as well as to know and understand others. Properly designed and carried out, it should produce a true patriotism and civic pride; it should foster love of their religion rather than passive sufferance. Since one of the goals is belief in self and his own origins, the child should learn more and thus become both socially and economically more potent.

Multicultural education, including language instruction, has a lot to offer to Texas schools. And the resources are here, ready to be employed in the American way--the teaching of everybody everything they can possibly learn. We have the expertise; the materials are being produced. Let's get it done.

The Trichruism of the Arts

Hugo D. Marple

Education, Culture and the Arts

When I was a boy in fifth grade I remember that we had a young teacher of social studies who was a most attractive lady, in fact, the prettiest teacher of the school. When she taught geography or history, she would have a student stand at the front of the room and read from the textbook. Then she would go to the back of the room and look out the window. Whenever a child met the name of a river, a country, or a general which he could not pronounce, this teacher would state from the rear of the room, "Call it Smith and go on." The child might read something like the following. "In the eastern section of this small country, which is often called SMITH by the local citizens, one also finds the capital of the country, SMITH, situated on the SMITH River. Most of the city is devoted to the manufacturing of SMITH from the raw material SMITH. Natives, often called SMITH, work in the fields, in the factories, and on the docks cultivating, harvesting, and loading SMITH. This main crop supplies over 50 percent of the employment potential for this small country." Now that I have gained adulthood and think back upon this, I recognize the idiocy of such a method and procedure. How could any teacher believe that she was teaching anything under such conditions?

And yet, it is likely that we often teach a similar kind of unclarity to some of our own students. If the young person is not at our point in culture, it is possible that the material

which we teach in some classes is equally meaningless to him. We call it SMITH and go on.

Perhaps I have overstated the point, but I am trying to say that, unless a student has an understanding for the relationship of an idea, he will miss the idea.

I can hear you saying, "Yes, we have known that all the time. This is what the educational process is all about. We take young children and give them enough background so that they can build upon it and understand ever more complex ideas."

In theory this is correct, but in practice you and I both know that it doesn't always seem to work in this manner. Try as we may, a gap exists.

Without getting too far afield or too deep into educational theories, let me mention three possible problems the school might create.

1. There is too little continuity as the child moves through the school system. We could speak of the usual continuity which moves from one sequential item to the next sequential item logically. Although we do this fairly well in mathematics and the sciences, we are not good at it in the social sciences or the arts. In the latter we make little attempt to show the student how the arts can progress, not historically, but conceptively and in form. Our most obvious lack of continuity in the arts exists when we fail to show the student the relationship among the cultures of the majority, the minority, and history--in other words, the evolution of ideas into various cultures.

If we permit our students involvement only in the culture of the majority, then they never will have an understanding of the art works of the past and how these resulted from events and lives of the people; nor will they be able to

evaluate the art forms of their own time or see them in perspective when these have been discarded by the majority. Education has provided most people an impoverished literacy which does not support an effective culture. In other words, the culture of the majority has been the only culture for most of the people even though they have been a product of the educational systems of our country. I say this not because I wish they would attend the symphony or support the local art gallery, but because I believe they will not remember and will not be able to understand history, literature, sociology, or any other social science or any of the humanities unless they know them in relation to the culture from which the ideas come. There are scientists who will claim this is true even for science.

2. Teachers do not understand the interrelatedness of ideas. It follows, then, that they cannot assist our young people in understanding them. By saying that, I am making a strong recommendation for the humanities courses or the team-taught multidiscipline courses recently emphasized in our schools. But, in addition, I am concerned that all teachers understand the material they teach in some perspective with the entire body of knowledge and, where appropriate, with the arts. One method of spanning the gap between past and present is to relate ideas to the arts; for it is the arts, probably more than any other legacy, which show how people felt, what was the quality of their living, and what was the emotional level undergirding their times.

For example, imagine you were studying the recent court cases concerning hair and dress codes in the year 2100, only 130 years from now (an equivalent date to studying the history of 1840 from our point in time). How could you better capture the feel of the people than by hearing music of the Chicago rock group, Pete Seeger and his folk songs, and Lawrence Welk and his popular tunes? Doesn't the music capsulize the feelings of the participants in the issues?

3. We have misunderstood what modern educational theory, the teacher, and the students of various cultures mean to each other. The student with a cultural lag cannot cope well with education which is too permissive, where the accent is upon self-motivation or internal motivation, which is introspective in nature, and depends largely upon creative activities. This is not to say that these students are not creative, but it does say that a verbalized society negates the creative efforts of some cultures. We need to lead these students into innovative learning gradually, rather than plunge them into it as many schools do when the student moves into a new facility or an upper school at promotion time. If you read a most recent Saturday Review, you will find similar comments concerning the famous Philadelphia Parkway Project and why it seemed to fail. We need a combination of rules, structure, discipline, order along with permissiveness, self-motivation, and creativity. We need a greater relatedness with experiences of the student; we need to begin in the present and move into the historical, the abstract, the broad learning.

The teacher who succeeds best with these young people is a bit old-fashioned, structured, somewhat on the strict side, lively, who understands what it means to begin from the ground and build upward. Where this kind of situation may be found, the barrier between the student and the school no longer exists.

In many schools the music teacher is a prime example of this kind of person. Music requires discipline; and, when it is taught with modestly structured processes by a teacher who is lively and modestly strict, usually the child finds himself involved. Involvement is the clue to the instrumental program as compared to the general music of the junior high. Dance and drama also can fit easily into this description, but art often demands too much personal discipline for some students.

My first point has dealt with the arts as an aid in general education. They can bring a continuity between the past and the present which could provide a link between the humanities and an improved understanding of history. The arts can help interrelated ideas in the social sciences with their interpretation of man, and could add an occasional dimension to the sciences. Finally, they offer an acceptable discipline during growth periods where other discipline often provokes or fails. At present we find too few instances of good interrelated instruction because the teachers do not know the role of the arts with ideas.

Culture, the Arts, and Education

My second main point is that the arts can aid an understanding of culture.

1. The arts help interpret culture to a nonmember. For example, when I witness a true demonstration of the waltz with 16 or more couples, flowing gowns, and an orchestra, I know something of Vienna; when I see the opera Marriage of Figaro by the playwright Beaumarchais and know it was forbidden in Paris for years, it helps me understand how freedom of speech was curtailed there and why our country was considered so free in the late 1700s; when I hear Mexican rock I begin to understand what is changing in that culture.

2. The arts bridge the gap between two cultures for the transient. For the student in your schools who finds himself involved with, or caught between, two cultures the arts can bring a focus and aid in transition not possible with most other learning areas.

3. The arts indicate approaching cultural changes, and if we study them we can be better prepared for emphases which the school or the person will meet.

4. The arts can maintain individual cultures with dignity and value. In our world with pseudo-cultural artifacts thrust upon us for commercial reasons and with change claiming first importance in our lives, cultural identity is quickly lost.

5. The final means through which the arts aid our understanding deserves our major attention at this conference. Yesterday afternoon our session was devoted to language and cultural differences and it is this point which I wish to consider with more than just a passing mention.

Yesterday it was emphasized that cultural understanding revolves about language, that if you know and understand the language you will begin to understand the culture. There are interesting reasons for this, one of which is that language teaches something about the way people think, the manner in which they organize their thoughts, the manner in which they express themselves. Many students have stated that they did not understand grammar of their own language until they had taken a foreign language. This means only that we do not tend to comprehend the systematic organization of our own language until we study another. It could follow that you might not perceive the organization of your own culture unless you study another. This might be why the African native probably has a better understanding of culture than most Americans: He is surrounded by different tribes with different cultures and different languages. He may not know the languages, but he can understand their differences, he can make jokes using their sounds or a bit of their vocabulary and thus feel something of their culture. Couldn't our students do these things in a multicultural school? Don't the arts show us a different language to be used effectively to study cultures and to cement educational efforts?

Because I am a musician I am going to suggest to you that music is a language, and of all the arts music is unique because it has a symbol system of its own. It is a language

just as words are a language and can perform a similar function. Music is even learned like a language. Some comparisons will prove interesting.

Yesterday afternoon Dr. Troike mentioned several characteristics of language. As I read these to you again, consider them in terms of music. In this way you will catch the relationship.

- Language is universal--found with all people.
- There is no primitive language--all are quite complex.
- Children learn language at the same rate over the world.
- Language is systematic.
- Language is basically an oral medium.
- Language constantly changes.
- Language differs by region, social group, and context.

One could elaborate at some length on these points, but let us proceed.

With a child we know that early sounds must be reinforced if they are to develop into speech, that the more reinforcement the better, and the fewer the number of persons involved with this reinforcement the better. Parents are more positive at this reinforcement than teachers or institutional employees. All these statements are true in the learning of music. But many parents do not encourage the making of sounds with small children, and so the kindergarten or the first grade teachers are their first contact with musical sounds. For this very reason the kindergarten and first grade teachers should be skillful in the language of music, and it is also the reason the stereo recording or television do not develop the child nearly so well as the vocal responses of the teacher. A recording is "call it Smith and go on" learning.

In word learning children of the same age and the same development playing together are of little assistance in speech development, and this is true of music also. A child with a high noise level in the home learns the language less quickly, and we are quite sure this is also true of the language of music. In our lower class homes language is less subtle, and there is less vocabulary, while in the middle class homes the language is more abstract and detailed. Many times the lower class home is not verbal even when members of the family sit together at meals; at other times the parents do very little "naming" and we find that the child cannot use words outside of the concrete visual situation when he arrives at the first school experiences. Parents who make no attempt to communicate musically with their children also fail to develop the early experiences which children could learn; consequently, the child comes to the school considerably retarded in the area of the musical sound language as compared to his potential.

Earlier I mentioned that if a student knew a second language it would assist him in knowing something of his own language and his own culture which would not be apparent otherwise. I am now proposing that the learning of the language of the arts, particularly music, can serve as the second language, but it must be taught as a language and not as a pastime or entertainment. We should spend time, and condiserably more time than at present, in the teaching of the oral language of music because it is a language. Later, when one learns to read music, if he uses its symbol system as a language, then the emphasis is not upon skill performance although these are interesting by-products. Rehearsing music usually is not reading the language, but real sight reading is. Through this we can learn something about languages generally, our native language in particular, and it can bring a type of systematization to language thinking. In passing, take note of the fact that most rock music is not written and read. Moreover, remember that ballet has begun a system of symbols call Labanotation.

If you believe that language is an aid to the understanding of culture, or if you believe that language symbols bridge the gaps between cultures, or if you believe that poor language also means poor thought and that language plays a major role in the adjustment to environment, then you will seriously consider the teaching of music as a language to young people and enjoy some residual benefits as well.

The Arts, Culture, and Education

My third point is that arts can be effective as fine arts. This sounds ridiculous and redundant until you consider the arts in our schools, what we do with them, and why most of the citizens, students, and administrators believe they are there. We are not teaching the arts as fine arts.

Fine arts should:

1. Express the quality of life. We should study the arts of other times, but this is more effective in relation to other subject areas. The fine arts departments should be the center for students' expressiveness. The visual arts do this very well, dance and drama some, but music hardly at all.

2. Give beauty and artistic satisfaction to the observer. Most of the arts in our schools are too concerned with the museum function; that is, the display of our best work, the program of dance or music, the imitation of Broadway or our musical comedy. There is also beauty and artistic satisfaction to the observer of the creative process. Our schools should foster the observation of the creation of an art work, the unknowing student watching the creating student with opportunity for explanation and critique.

3. Indicate and service the emotional life by presenting a spectrum and vocabulary of synthesized emotions. What kind of spectrum exists with the marching band? What is the

emotional vocabulary of the electric bass guitar as compared to the unamplified Spanish instrument?

This summer I am teaching a class of music teachers. During the year they are in the school systems of our State, but this summer they are working toward graduate degrees. Not long ago I asked them how the arts could assist cultural understanding. Almost all seemed disinterested but stated that we should perform National or ethnic music at our concerts. Although I don't disagree with this, I believe this turns out to be a rather superficial approach to the problem. One band director stated that they take the band to the Wurstfest and play German music. When I asked what this did to strengthen cultural understanding, he realized that the young people were gaining almost nothing from this. Another band director stated that he had obtained an "old-style fiddler" and featured him at a football show last year. Again I asked what the students had learned that would assist their cultural understanding. Next to nothing. These are successful music teachers, but they could not comprehend the arts in other than a superficial performing situation. This means that the schools have much to do to explain what the arts can contribute.

When I talked to them of other kinds of approaches, they stated they were in a trap where they can't teach much but skill for football, public relations, and contests. They wished to request the superintendents to help them.

As a type of summary, but to place additional emphases in certain directions, let us consider what the arts can do to assist cultural learning.

1. The arts can express in different ways. Teachers of the arts should be guided to emphasize the expressive relationship of people through the arts, the relationship of people some time ago and now. We rarely teach this in our schools. We don't have the arts in the schools for this purpose. We should alter our emphasis, and school administrators must

insist upon it if it is to happen. Culture is a living experience and the arts may assist.

2. The arts teach culture. We spent considerable time developing this point earlier. The point should be made that we fail to teach the arts as an exciting way to know the culture, the time, the period. In languages we study the people as well as the grammar, the culture as well as the vocabulary. Art can explain culture well, but most often our teachers in the arts are not expected to do this; they are too engrossed with the skills, with the performance. We need administrators and schools which will release our teachers from the tremendous emphasis upon skills so they can develop their understanding and teaching procedures to consider the bridge between cultures.

3. The arts offer a possibility for different kinds of aspirations. We are all too aware of the depressing effect a poor self-image can create. Since the arts are a different symbolization, they are more apt to offer to all children a different opportunity. With a nonverbal, nonquantitative system in operation, children can replace the poor self-image which they develop in some areas and begin to reach for greater self-attainment and growth. When this occurs, the child will achieve a sense of belonging and his security will be evident.

George Bernard Shaw once said, "How can you dare to teach a man to read before you teach him everything else?" He was saying that learning to read is not the only learning necessary for living. Transitional societies can use only a certain amount of verbal and computational literacy within a certain time, and while they are moving to the next step, they need other learnings and other expressions. An imbalance produces poor self-image, frustrations, and misunderstandings. The arts can offer a balance to verbal learnings, and re-orient aspirations.

4. The arts have meaning which negates cultural lines. The arts are most adaptable in giving meaning to more than one culture simultaneously. Although the notes, the sounds, the motions, the colors are the same, the arts can bring meaning to a number of persons with varying backgrounds.

Throughout the entire presentation, I have not mentioned specific cultures or specific minority groups. This may have disappointed some. My thesis was that most of our young people need to understand the arts as a language, need to study this language to learn a perspective of history, need to consider the historical culture, and need to be aware of the many current cultures. Cultural differences are not only a minority problem.

Last week on our campus we hosted the convention of the American Society of Engineering Education. Some 3000 teachers of engineering came to discuss the present and also the future. It was estimated in this convention that within five years much of what is now taught in college will be taught in high school. This will produce a cultural gap--a cultural gap greater than we witness now with the minority groups, a cultural gap between the technical mind and the human relation, a cultural gap between the young person and the older mind. Schools must be concerned with these cultural problems on the large perspective as well as the immediate local problems.

I can hear you saying that I am placing too great an emphasis upon the arts, am too confident of their role, and do not understand the problems which such ideas foster for the school system. But I do have faith in the arts, not only because I work with them daily, but because I also under-

stand the tremendous impact they can have. For example, is not "Fiddler on the Roof" the use of art forms to help us all understand cultural variances?

The title of my talk today was "The Trichroism of the Arts." I chose the title because the word means to have the property of transmitting light of different colors in three different directions. This the fine arts can do.

Children's Folklore

Richard Bauman

We are concerned at this conference with coming to grips in a meaningful and productive way with the cultural heterogeneity of our schools, our communities, and our State--a heterogeneity that is only just beginning to be approached as a persistent strength, rather than as a temporary, though still insidious, obstacle to progress. Our particular task in this session is to discuss the various ways in which we can build upon the arts to foster in our students and ourselves an understanding and appreciation of the cultural diversity that surrounds us.

Most of you--probably all of you--have arts programs in your schools already: a choir, a band, a dramatics class, and, from this point of view, are perhaps fairly well equipped to appreciate the innovative suggestions and models for further development in these areas presented by my colleagues on this panel. I am here, however, to talk about an aspect of the arts that probably does not figure in your academic programs in the arts, though it has certainly figured in your lives as it has in the lives of your teachers and students.

As a point of departure, I would like to suggest to you that school arts programs are all but universally oriented toward the fine and cultivated arts of European, or western, culture. By this I mean that the arts are viewed as something lifted above everyday life, as belonging to the finer spheres of existence, to high culture. They require the teaching and cultivation of special performance skills; they

are organized into or directed toward patterns of performance modeled upon the theater, the concert, the dance, the art exhibit, which require special preparation, special skill, and a relationship between artist or performer and audience that tends toward an emphasis upon the separateness of the two.

Now, at its best this has its productive aspects--it does give children exposure to, and for some, experience in, a mode of artistic expression that characterizes the highest artistic achievements of that western culture in which every American has an investment. But I submit to you that, however much we may try to adapt this artistic model to foster the goals of cultural pluralism, we can go only a certain distance and no further. A stage play on themes from the barrio, drawn from the students' own experience, is still a stage play; a band concert played by an integrated group of musicians who have learned to read music and play new instruments is still a concert; a crayon mural of Booker T. Washington's career is still a school-generated artifact hanging on an institutional wall. In all these cases, the students are implicitly told that legitimate artistic expression requires the casting of their experiences into the artistic mold established by the culture of the school and the learned culture of whose transmission the school is the instrument. That is, in all these cases, the school decides at least what form the artistic activity will take--modeled on the fine arts forms of European culture--and then it may or may not leave the rest (perhaps content and performance style) for the expression of cultural diversity.

Against this background, I would like to suggest an additional approach to the arts that relates to the dimensions of cultural diversity in a more immediate, less "artificial" way, building upon a different kind of art, and turning it to different academic and social ends. I am talking about the folk and vernacular arts--folk literature, folk drama, folksong, folk dance, folk music--as they exist in the communities

from which the students come. I don't mean the quaint, cute, whimsical, and romantic concoctions that pass under the name of folklore in our present textbooks; nor do I mean the mass-culture, packaged stuff of the Disney films and Nashville records; nor do I mean tourist art for sale in Matamoros. Rather, I am concerned with the cultural materials and behavior patterns that make up the living performance repertoire of communities, what goes on in the storytelling sessions, the celebrations, the play activities in which the art forms of traditional and vernacular culture emerge. The interest here is in such questions as: What is the place and organization of art in the culture and social life of the people? Where and why and what and for whom do they sing, dance, narrate, or decorate? To turn the attention and energies of school art programs to this realm of art is to establish a continuity between the life of the outside community and the school by encouraging the child to present his culture to others by means of items and performances which the culture itself has felt to be sufficiently meaningful to render in artistic form. This alone renders it a powerful tool for adaptation to school arts programs in which an effort is to be made to build upon cultural diversity.

In the short time I have available here, I can't hope to present a comprehensive program by which an understanding of the confluence of cultures can be built on the folk arts; so let me rely on one extended example to suggest what might be done with the folk arts in school. I am going to draw on children's folklore form--performed by children among themselves, and maintained as a tradition by the children themselves--because this is more difficult for school people to recognize and acknowledge than adult folklore or adult folklore for children. However, similar kinds of points could be made about usefulness of adult folklore in school arts programs.

[Film: Pizza, Pizza Daddy-O]

What do we have here? A traditional art form hundreds of years old, which is the exclusive property of children. Transmitted from one generation of children to the next without adult, much less school, involvement. In fact, teachers are as likely as not to disapprove of it when they do find out about it. What can we see in these singing games? What use can they be to us for educational purposes? Music, dance, poetry, blended into a single art form.

One possibility is to use it to get at something about the nature of art. Suppose we approach this art form in terms of its formal features. Take meter for instance: "Boyfriend" would have to be transcribed in $\frac{4}{4}$ or $\frac{2}{4}$, but kids clap $\frac{3}{4}$. Points also could be made about its structure, which is cumulative, about the rhyme, and about kinesic sensitivity in mutual adjustments. Another possible line of analysis involves patterns of performance: from couple to a circle, a traditional technique by which additional members can be absorbed into the group. There is a lesson for social structure, too, in the roles in "When I Was a Baby." In "This a-Way Valerie" there are parallel lines, with each taking turns at the central role. This technique demonstrates the interplay between tradition and creativity. In addition, the game is not competitive; children either play in unison or each gets a turn till the game is played out.

These points are on the level of individual items, or comparison among a few. We can go beyond this; e.g., there are lessons to be learned from this art form concerning the formation and nature of a plural society. General tradition began in Britain--we can document some of these games hundreds of years ago in British tradition. About half of them were imported from Britain; half are indigenous to America. They used to be played by both Anglo American and Afro American children. Now they have all but vanished from the Anglo culture. They are played just in black communities, by girls from about six or seven to their early teens. As the games are performed, they represent a

coming together of an Anglo form and Afro-American musical and kinesic performance style.

You don't need to be a folklore scholar to see these meanings in folk art. All you need are a few standard reference works, a sensitive eye and ear, but most of all a willingness to consider children as cultural beings with their own traditional art forms, and to appreciate them for what they are. The hardest thing is probably getting teachers to listen to children, but the benefits are great:

> The performance skills the kids bring to school can be tapped.
>
> The youngsters can be taught with reference to their own immediate culture; its validity can be affirmed. This type of teaching has continuities with school goals too--a teacher can use this stuff to teach the whole range of school subjects, not just the arts, but history, social studies, language, and others.
>
> Acceptance of children's folk art forms gets us away from an elitist conception of art. We begin to look at the place of art in the lives of the people, the esthetic dimension of everyday life.
>
> The resources are there--it remains only to build upon them.

Culture and Educational Aptitude

E. W. Rand

This presentation is undertaken with the full knowledge and understanding that this subject or these subjects represent two of the most unsettled topics coming within the spectrum of the educational controversy today. In fact, the concern of this committee--the confluence of cultures--represents a most complicated area of concern in the United States and in the world.

What is culture? Culture is to an ethnic group what soul is to man. With it he is everything; without it he is nothing. Culture is more than art, music, food, attire, and speech patterns--it is more than the total of these parts. Culture is also revealed in voting patterns, values, mores, educational processes, and beauty standards. All of these elements make up the over-all ethnicity of a people; its very fiber, its texture, and its feeling compose its culture. It is more than this; it is family income, job status, where one lives, who his friends are, what he cherishes, and what he calls good or important.

This is what the culture is expressing. At best, what we see through visual means is the flavor of the ethnics; the taste is our own. Out of this context some feel that we have created for ourselves here in America something of a monster.

The conclusion reached by the commission to which President Johnson assigned the task of investigating urban

riots and ghetto unrest in 1967 pointed out that, "Our nation is moving toward two societies, one black and one white, separate and unequal." Realistically, we must take this statement one step further. We are a Nation divided not only into a black and white culture, but into numerous ethnic cultures. Groups such as Mexican Americans, Italian Americans, Chinese Americans, and Jews have traditionally been penalized for their social, political, and economic differences. Tragically, it appears that their greatest enemy has been ignorance on the part of us, their "fellow Americans," of their different life styles, their cultural heritages and their histories. Now an enlightened America is beginning to understand, I hope, that a nation thus divided can only work against itself. We are beginning to understand that primal attitudes must be changed in order for any sort of educational equality to be realized.

When we attempt to explore the term "educational aptitude" we are concerned with the potential one may have for achieving success in the pursuit of education and/or schooling.

It is not intended in this presentation to contest the findings growing out of mental ability or achievement tests. Neither am I concerned with the controversy arising from the judgments of Garrett, Jensen, and Shockley and their followers. We shall be concerned though with what tests say as they relate to other factors which have a possible impact on a child's performance on a test or in a schoolroom. We are concerned here, I am of the opinion, with the impact of culture and educational potential--in fact, educational performance and what we in Texas can and should do to enhance the learning of children irrespective of their cultural backgrounds. We are concerned, in light of our recognition of the multicultural nature of our societal setting, about what school administrators, teachers, and other school people can and should do to enhance the educational program and the products of our schools.

It may be interesting to note that prior to World War II, in fact since Brown v. Topeka in 1954 and 1955, any substantial research related to the complex dichotomy of culture as it related to or might relate to educational aptitude was reported. Most of the research to that date, involving ethnic groups, concerned itself with standardized test scores related to what many believed to be "innate" ability. It appears that only a limited number--and that number was small indeed--raised the troubling question of, "What influence does historical circumstance, family background, social and economic status, community surroundings, and societal circumstance, have on test performance?" Only a limited number raised the question of the "cultural bias" of the tests and pupil performance. It has been, in the main, since 1960 that we began in earnest to examine the matters related to culture and educational aptitude. We seemed to have produced in our America what was equivalent to an American culture, which had its basis in what we call "the American way." The basic criteria centered in what was acceptable for what has come to be known as "middle class America."

We seemed to have forgotten that we had historically called ourselves the "melting pot." Yet, in so many instances we were somewhat intolerant of putting that which had to be melted into the same pot. Put another way, we ignored other cultures or, if we wish, subcultures. We drew the lines for housing and/or community, employment opportunity, schools and schooling, and opportunity for social interaction, except on a master-servant relationship basis. Thus, we lived in one nation, but not in a relationship conducive to a welding together of the divergent groups. Each group, to greater or lesser extent, perpetuated its strengths and/or its weaknesses. As a result, when we find it necessary to provide education for all the children of all the people in the same setting, we experience grave and complex problems. When we find in our schools black pupils, Mexican Americans or Chicanos, or Indian pupils

whose backgrounds of experience and whose readiness do not prepare them for traditional American education, we are overcome with problems of adjustment. The problems arise with curriculum, teaching strategies, teacher and pupil behavior complexes, and teacher-pupil morale. We simply have difficulties relating to one another. We have not had the "melting pot" experience in our education operation.

We need to keep in mind that the cultural impact does not operate in one direction on educational aptitude. For example, a pupil in my class who does not speak the English language or who speaks one of the many regional or colloquial dialects may find severe handicaps in keeping intelligently in touch with what is happening in class. If I am a teacher who has based my standards on criteria which did not take into consideration the handicaps indicated above, my students will experience low-level performance and thereby be identified as having a low level of aptitude. Let us suppose on the other hand that having read the literature and being thoroughly immersed in the "standards" of American education, I know from the outset that my black, Mexican American, and/or Indian pupils are low-level performers. They come to my class, if I am not very careful, already categorized. In so doing, I introduce another side of the cultural impact on educational aptitude. I have committed the student to a low level from the beginning. Over and above my actions as a teacher is the prevailing atmosphere of the school, the school system, and the society.

We may rest assured that when a school system takes the position that these children cannot learn, that they cannot fit into our cultural pattern and the patterns of our society, a real problem is created, not just for the pupils from a different cultural background, but also for the administration, the teachers, and the pupils from the majority or societal culture. A definite block is placed in the process of administration, teaching, and pupil

relationships. Too frequently, in my opinion, we use historical positions, findings coming from standardized tests, and societal feelings to color our positions and actions. By so doing, we tend to eliminate from our serious concern in planning and teaching approximately one third of our school population. We are obligated to provide quality education for all our children. Perhaps a goal that is needed as much as anything for our schools today is to prepare our people to live together profitably, in one world, and not in two or more. This cannot be done if we begin from a position of two or more worlds because of variance in cultures.

What can be done by schools and school systems?

- We must come to grips with our history of cultural divergence and give prima facie recognition that a difference in cultures is not good or bad, right or wrong, superior or inferior. We must find ways and means of coming to know the important cultural differences among children and provide effective ways of teaching them.

- We must provide ways for parents of children of divergent cultural backgrounds to find sincere acceptance into the school as real and vital members of the school community. Unless parents are accepted as real and vital community persons, it is highly questionable whether the children can be accepted.

- It is highly desirable that administrators and teachers strive to eliminate the impact of their feelings on decisions related to children. Teachers must be provided with opportunity to work creatively with children of divergent cultures.

- We must make provision through inservice programs for teachers and other school personnel to develop essential knowledge and understandings that are significantly important in teaching children from different cultures. This will require experiences involving persons who come from different cultures. It would be most difficult to develop these understandings in a vacuum.

- We must encourage the selection of textbooks and library reference materials, especially in social studies and literature, that provide relevant material related to the various cultural groups of the world, with special consideration for the cultural representatives in the school or school systems.

- Behavior in any school tends to be a problem area. However, a system of restrictions and prohibitions often creates problems rather than resolves them. We must keep in mind that children whose cultural backgrounds are different from what we call the American standard may not come up to our standards in behavior. We might consider the fact that children from another culture may consider our standards oppressive. Too, we must keep in mind that you have a child who must learn to operate biculturally and attempt to learn and assimilate two cultures.

- We must serve as the leaders of our schools in terms of the leadership that is needed. Perhaps nothing is more important than the image we present and the tone we set for our schools.

- We must work to make our schools not only interracial but intercultural. Schools, if they are to deal with this problem of cultural pluralism, cannot be a mere extension of the white world. To

fail to do this makes the school another alien agency which to them represents rejection. We must take what to some is a giant step and recognize and admit that in many instances where cultural differences are involved, race is an important factor.

Finally, one item to be considered perhaps more than any other is the acceptance, as a reality, that when we deal with different cultures in our schools, and try to do so with facility and effectiveness, we are really dealing with an almost entirely new dimension. We are dealing with a dimension for which not too many of us have any real experience and expertise to work with. For the middle class societal culture we are capable of operating at least at an optimum level of proficiency. For this other dimension, there is much to be desired.

It is my hope that we can leave participants of this conference aware that:

- A multicultural situation exists in most of our schools.
- Cultural background is significantly important in the aptitude and/or learning of children.
- We have for many, many years ignored culture as a factor in our schools and in some instances have attempted to penalize those who come from different cultures.
- It is possible to work effectively with children from different cultures, and we as administrators and teachers can have significant impact on the situation and the people with whom we work.

- We are important factors in the efficiency and quality of our school and educational program. These cultural groups are not going away. We must include them in our plans and our planning. Above all, we must, if we are to be successful, learn to plan with, not for, differing cultural groups.

Culture and Educational Testing

Earl Jones

As students of educational testing are aware, most of the early efforts in measurement of intelligence, aptitude, and ability were designed to give information on the general tendencies of groups, not individuals. However, since scores were available on individuals, many educators slipped into the error of assessing the probable performance of individuals from these data. When the performance of many students apparently conformed to these predictions, confidence grew in the personal prediction capabilities of these instruments.

Accumulated data began to show group differences, also, and research "findings" have purported that:

. Negroes score lower on IQ tests than whites

. Puerto Ricans have lower intellectual capabilities than "mainlanders"

. Bilinguality lowers the IQ score

. Southerners, of whatever racial group, demonstrate lower IQs than the rest of the Nation (except Puerto Rico); students from New England and the Pacific Northwest score higher than the rest of the Nation

. Orientals earn higher grades than their IQ scores justify

- First-borns have higher IQ scores than the rest of the family
- Males score higher than females when tested below age 12 and lower thereafter
- Students tested during morning hours consistently score higher than those tested in the afternoon

These and a host of other generalities have been published, often in absolute or at least misleading terms. Obviously serious errors can be involved in such interpretations of scores.

Fortunately, many investigators recognized the discrepancies and produced evidence which questioned these reports. Chief among these interrogations were: Why is the range of IQ scores the same for all groups? Why do so many individuals appear to raise their IQ scores substantially? Why has the Negro IQ score risen dramatically during the past decade? Can you really talk about a "Negro score" if data are sorted by family income and no difference is found among racial groups or the condition of monolinguality and bilinguality? Perhaps the most damning questions arose from a 20-year longitudinal study which found that, regardless of beginning IQ score, race, or economic level, those who continued their education averaged impressive gains in retesting, and those that did not continue averaged distressing losses.

Culture Testing

These and other questions led to a series of attempts at instrument revision, all with the intention of improving the results. Translation of tests into Spanish dramatically improved the scores of Puerto Ricans. The removal of the

obviously geographically oriented items, such as knowledge of freezing conditions, narrowed the score gap between North and South. Eliminating hostility-producing connotations, such as equating black with evil, allowed some improvement in Negro scores.

The most recent attention has been directed toward "culture free" or "culture fair" test instruments. The first of these tried to purge all items believed to incorporate white Anglo-Saxon Protestant values. Standardization trials have produced varied results: Nonwhites tended to achieve better scores; whites tended to score lower--quite unexpectedly. In neither case, however, was the change uniformly statistically significant.

Iowa test researchers spent a great deal of time isolating consistent errors of students in the Texas Rio Grande Valley counties. Most of the items so identified were missed as frequently by non-Mexican Americans as by Mexican Americans. This was of considerable surprise to the investigators, and they are currently studying Mexican Americans in Northern cities to discover what variations may occur among the groups.

One set of Rio Grande test data was as hypothesized: Unusual sentence structure caused Mexican Americans to miss an item more frequently than their compatriot non-Mexican Americans, whether white, black, or Oriental. Typical difficulty-provoking examples were: "Joyfully jumping up and down, and with a grin from ear to ear, the girl approached." "The animals, confused by the noise, bore straight ahead." Noun-verb reversals, however, affected Mexican Americans less that their counterparts.

Items requiring a comprehension of divorce, broken families, and loneliness were rarely answered correctly by Mexican Americans. The researchers noted with chagrin that the divorce percentage in the studied counties was among the lowest in the United States and that the still existent extended family apparently protected Mexican Americans from many broken-family and loneliness effects.

As has been noted frequently in other research, Mexican Americans tended to score higher when the tests were administered by Mexican Americans, even though no Spanish was used in the instructions. The non-Mexican Americans did not appear to be affected by the ethnic background of the test supervisor. Giving the instructions in Spanish apparently did not produce score changes. There were few black students tested, and no black supervisors administered the tests; so this part of the data does not necessarily speak to the Negro problem.

It is important to note that sex was an influential factor in the culturally biased items. Mexican American females were far less likely to err on these than were the males--at every age tested. The difference was far greater than between non-Mexican American males and females. A tentative hypothesis inferred that girls adapt better to the WASP culture than do boys. Certainly their command of English is greater, which may account for some of the difference.

Attitudes and Testing

Attitudes have long been recognized as an important element in test results. As a generality, those who sincerely believe they will do well, do. Confidence reduces wasted motions, emotional upheavals which occupy time, and the body tension that appears to engender propensity to error. Here in Texas, students usually score significantly higher on the English portion of the National Teachers' Examination, on which no specific point level is required, than they do on the same portion of the Graduate Record Examination, where a certain score is demanded.

The most famous documented example of attitude influence on test scores is the "self-fulfilling prophecy"

research in the South San Francisco schools. When teachers believed certain students were going to improve markedly, they did--not only in classroom grades but also in IQ and achievement tests. Furthermore, the effect lasted for the several years of the study, far beyond the immediate relationship between the research teacher and the student.

England's University Without Walls, the University of Chicago's "teach then test" program for highly motivated "nonadmissible" college freshmen, and the many college preparatory programs all give the same results: Teach students how to take tests and they do significantly better on the tests. Confidence breeds confidence, and expected norms may be far exceeded.

Culture and Testing

The teaching profession richly deserves a demerit for its inaction in adapting the learning process to the various U. S. cultures. A large measure of this inaction stems from the recognition that most teachers either are of the WASP-WASC culture or have adopted its values. They had to, or thought they had to, in order to obtain and hold their positions. As the dropouts studied in a Texas A&M University investigation said, "It makes no difference whether the teacher is Anglo or chicano, they're almost all the same. If you don't act like an Anglo, you're dead."

Our students deserve something better than the sporadic attempts to produce culture fair tests and the occasional program to teach them how to take tests. In the first place, our plurality of cultures is one of our great strengths. The continual sifting of "better ways" has helped create an amalgam seldom equalled in the modern world.

This process, however, cannot proceed efficiently when members of one or more of our cultures are denied entrance to the general society because they primarily embrace their culture rather than the hypothetical "goals" of society. Typical of the stupid losses caused by their denial is the four and one-half billion dollars spent on the National Defense Project's language program. We should have had these languages already available--but we had discouraged their perpetuation. Chrysanthemum and the Sword cost millions during World War II, so we could learn about an important group of our own people. We moan mightily about the high cost of welfare while we actively discourage elements in the Mexican American culture that would keep welfare from rising still further. We espouse individual differences and yet force conformity through artificial testing deterrents.

The greatest single damage done by culturally unfair tests comes about through the abuse of the scores. The self-fulfilling prophecy works both ways--if a teacher sees a low IQ score, whether he wants to or not, he believes or at least doubts that the student will perform well. And the student doesn't perform well. "Ability grouping" is even worse; for it convinces teachers and peers, as well as the individual, that little can be expected. A major revolution, perhaps even a Supreme Court decision, may be needed to curb this abuse.

Suggestions for Action

No miracle will be worked to cure our present culture and educational problems. A strong and long campaign will be needed. Some elements of this drive might include the following:

. Teach teachers in a positive way about the cultures of their students.

. Teach teachers that individual test scores can mean little or nothing about classroom performance--learning depends more on them than on scores.

. Teach students how to take tests; it works.

. Curb the abuses of test scores. I know of no psychologically sound reason teachers should know students' scores.

. Teach teachers about how attitudes are formed and how they may favorably modify their own and those of their pupils.

. Reduce testing to an absolute minimum: Tests produce more heartache and retard more learning than any other single element in education today.

. Teach students the positive aspects of their culture--the present input is primarily negative.

. Rededicate ourselves to the plurality of the United States of America; only through such a dedication can we recapture the spirit that made this Nation great.

The Uses of Biculturalism

Chester C. Christian, Jr.

After choosing the title for this lecture, I read an article in Psychology Today which demonstrated to me that the title, "The Uses of Biculturalism," reveals my own cultural prejudices--as well as what I assume to be those of most of my audience. The prejudice is in the implicit judgment that whatever can be used is worthwhile and will be acceptable to any normal human being, and whatever is useless is indefensible.

These prejudices are involved in almost every statement I have seen in bilingual program proposals and are in fact implicitly required by the law which represents an ostensible attempt to ameliorate cultural prejudices. The requirement of a statement of behavioral objectives in bilingual program proposals implies, in effect, "We want to preserve your cultural heritage by making you a member of our culture." Or, in other words, "We want to show you how to use your culture to get somewhere in ours."

Use is a key word in our culture. The sociologist Talcott Parsons sums up the orientation of U.S. culture by the words instrumental activism, in which the key quality of any idea or action is the use to which it can be put. This idea has also been expressed in such words as pragmatism, empiricism, and logical empiricism.

The article in Psychology Today states that we have literally a right-handed (and left-brained) culture, and bases

this conclusion on physiological studies in which the brains of laboratory animals as well as human epileptics have been physically divided into right and left halves. The functions of the two halves differ, according to Robert Ornstein, as follows: "The left hemisphere is predominantly involved with analytic thinking, especially language and logic. . . . The right hemisphere, by contrast, appears to be primarily responsible for our orientation in space, artistic talents, body awareness, and recognition of faces." (Psychology Today, May 1973, p. 87)

Ornstein says that "clinical and neurological investigators tend to label the left and right hemispheres the 'major' and the 'minor' respectively. This is more a societal than a neurological distinction. Our culture emphasizes verbal and intellectual abilities, and this bias intrudes into the most "objective" haunts of science. If an injury to the right hemisphere does not affect speech or reason, then many neurologists consider the damage minor. Since injury to the left hemisphere affects verbal ability, the left hemisphere must be 'major.'

"I disagree with this cultural slant," Ornstein goes on to say. "I believe that each hemisphere is the major one, depending on the mode of consciousness under consideration. If one is a wordsmith, a scientist, or a mathematician, damage to the left hemisphere may prove disastrous. If one is a musician, a craftsman, or an artist, damage to the right hemisphere may obliterate a career."

Whether or not we can attribute cultural differences to differences in the balance of brain functions is a question I do not intend to answer in this lecture, but I would like to state my belief that our right hands should give more attention to what our left hands are--I almost made another cultural slip of the tongue here by using the word doing. Our right hands should give more attention to what our left hands are feeling, sensing, or even conceiving.

The duality described by Ornstein is present in all aspects of our culture, as is the attribution of major and minor importance to each. You might, as an exercise, classify the following into right-handed and left-handed cultures: rural culture and urban culture, the culture of the male and that of the female, of those below the poverty level and those above the poverty level, the educated and the uneducated, white and nonwhite, the culture of the engineer and that of the artisan, of the artist and of the scientist, the culture of the community and that of the family, of work and of play.

In each of these and in many other such cases, we have a feeling that one set of values is worthy of admiration; and the contrasting set, no matter how attractive, we sense to be weak, inferior, and of relatively minor importance. I would not expect most of you to disagree with me if I asserted that the dominant set of values in the United States is that associated with the city, science, the educated and prosperous segment of the population, the male, the right hand, and the left side of the brain.

It seems evident that there are subcultures in the United States which do not share the emphasis or the value orientation of the dominant culture. One case is that described by Roger Abrahams yesterday. He stated that the Indian group where his friend was teaching could not learn arithmetic upon beginning in school, but could learn solid geometry because their linguistic concepts were spatial, not sequential. This is almost the exact terminology used by Ornstein in describing the functions of the two halves of the brain: "(The left) hemisphere seems to process information sequentially. . . . The right hemisphere, by contrast, appears to be primarily responsible for our orientation in space. . . ."

From the explanation given by Professor Abrahams, it seems obvious that the concept among Navajos of the design on a Navajo rug is associated with the process of creating

the rug, and that this in turn is associated with the manner in which the Navajo language functions. All of this is in turn associated with other concepts which have been associated with the Navajo. For example, they have been reported as not conceiving history in terms of a linear series of happenings, but as patterns of phenomena which come to exist (another expression which belies our own cultural orientation; I am sure that "come to exist" suggests a non-Navajo concept) or which at the moment fit certain patterns which are always in existence.

It is noteworthy that, at the most abstract level, our culture has not been able to solve fundamental problems of time and space. Astronomical time and space are inconceivable in terms of our linear language, and it may be that finally other languages we now consider more "primitive" may be found more appropriate for the expression of our place in the universe.

But let us take a more modest view, and listen to a simple conversation between a teacher and a child in a bilingual classroom--- conversation of which I have a tape recording. The teacher asks a third grade by named Aurelio:

"Aurelio, which way did you come to school this morning? Do you remember what street it was on?"

No response.

"Did you walk to school?"

"Yes."

"Yes what?"

"Yes, I walked . . . to school."

"What did you see on the way to school?"

"I saw some houses."

"What else did you see?"

"I saw some cars."

"Okay. What did you do this past weekend?"

No response.

"What did you do Saturday?"

No response.

"Did you play?"

"No."

"What did you do Saturday?"

"I worked."

"You worked? Where did you work?"

"At school."

"Saturday?"

The conversation goes on, with the teacher obviously trying to get the child to think in sequential, logical order, and the child obviously resisting. The only possible conclusion one can draw from listening to the recording is, it seems to me, that there is no communication between teacher and child. It seems at least conceivable, and perhaps even plausible, that the lack of communication is due largely to the fact that the teacher is thinking in a linear fashion and

the child is not. To the teacher, the fundamental reality is the sequence of happenings, the series of observations one makes while walking to school, the fact that if one day is called Saturday, the next period of daylight in the sequence is called Sunday, etc.

It is interesting to note that novelists and other artists are now attempting to portray life independently of the concept of time sequence. One of the most notable characteristics of modern literature is its attempt to suspend for a moment at least the conventional notion of time sequence, so that a more fundamental reality may be revealed.

These fundamentally revolutionary modes of thought may be more easily grasped by the child than by the teacher--especially by the type of teacher described by Earl Jones yesterday, a type of teacher we all know, whose prime mission is to destroy anything which exists outside his or her little world, a world which typically becomes narrower every day.

The worst part of it is that even the most well-meaning, kind-hearted, and gentle teacher may destroy, as a result of the best intentions, the possibility of the geometric expansion of the being of a young child. This may be done in the child's language as well as in English. For example, the above-mentioned child was also interviewed by a Spanish-speaking teacher, who asked, "¿Cuantos hermanos tienes?" There was a long pause, after which Aurelio answered, "Diez." The teacher responded spontaneously, "¿Diez? ¿Estas seguro?" The tone of voice communicated effectively in this case; it stated that having ten brothers and sisters would be incredible, and implied that there might be something wrong with a little boy who would have that many. In this case she did not consider the important skill he had learned--to see his brothers and sisters sequentially corresponding to a series of number symbols. At least he should have been given credit for that.

This type of teaching may be contrasted with the techniques described by Anne McGee yesterday. These techniques, rather than making the assumption that pupils will react properly and appreciatively to the linear forms of thinking, which in most of us have become dominant, utilizes the capacities Ornstein attributes to the right side of the brain--the left-handed capacities. Mrs. McGee described the use of sense perceptions, perception of form, and stimulation of the imagination, for example. The association of this type of learning with the right side of the brain has been indicated experimentally in the study of patients who, because of severe epilepsy, have had the connections between the two halves of their brains physically severed. In these cases, if the patient picks up a pencil with his right hand, he is able, without seeing what he has in his hand, to recognize it and say the word pencil. If he picks it up with his left hand, however, he is not able to identify it verbally. However, he is able to pick it out from a number of other objects with his left hand. In other words, the hand recognizes the nature of the object, but the brain makes no connection with a word which denotes it.

On the other hand, the patient could easily construct a three-dimensional figure using a set of cubes, with each face painted a different color, with his left hand, but was unable to do so with his right.

Ornstein states that "(in) films of a patient's unsuccessful attempts to solve the problem with his right hand, we see the patient's left hand, unable to restrain itself, correct its bumbling partner."

The conclusions of this article are stated as follows: "The complementary workings of our two thought processes permit our highest achievements, but most occupations value one mode over the other. Science and law, for example, emphasize linear thought and verbal logic. The arts, religions, and music are more present-oriented, aconceptual, and

intuitive. The unfortunate result is that many intellectuals often disparage the nonverbal mind, while many mystics and poets often disparage the rational mind.

"But a complete human consciousness should include both modes of thought, just as a complete day includes both light and darkness. Perhaps the knowledge that the modes have a physiological basis will help science and psychology to regain their balance. We must not ignore the right-hemisphere talents of imagination, perspective, and intuition, which in the long run may prove essential to our personal and cultural survival."

It does not seem to me improbable that lower attendance at sections of a meeting on cultural differences in which the arts are discussed may be correlated with the relatively minor importance of brain functions connected with the arts in our culture, and more particularly, in our educational system. Perhaps the section yesterday should have been called, "Uses of the Arts in Stimulating Verbal Behavior" in order to attract a larger audience.

With this, I will make my last apology for the title "Uses of Biculturalism." The best use of biculturalism, I believe, is to keep us from being like the Dallas man, the human computer, described by Kermit Hunter yesterday. Perhaps he had suffered paralysis of the right side of the brain due to an accident of birth. However that may be, and in spite of the rebellion of youth and of minority groups described by Roger Abrahams at the beginning of this conference, it seems to me that our children are in danger of becoming more like the human computer than we are, their children still more, ad infinitum. This is the reason that I believe the preservation of what we call, significantly, sub-cultures, is extremely important at the present time, and will become ever more important as technological society develops and extends itself over the face of the earth.

For me and my family, the Spanish language offers a refuge from the overwhelming emphasis on the use of language: Its use as an instrument of advertising, as a means of holding together a bureaucracy--a government, for example--through making words "operative" or "inoperative" at will, and for other purposes with which I do not sympathize. Spanish provides, I must admit, some of the same functions of black English as described by Mrs. Hart, in terms of escape from being manipulated and controlled.

I believe that others of the minority cultures also provide this form of escape, and that this is an avenue which we need to keep as wide open as possible. Dr. Rand has stated that "culture is to an ethnic group what soul is to man." Soul, to me, is the left hand of our culture, and I would like to see it strengthened. This can be best accomplished, I believe, by lending as much strength as possible to the "left-handed cultures" in our midst.

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This was the closing presentation at the third conference. It attempts to refocus the participants' concern for language and cultural differences by looking at the implications of each speaker's presentation. Not all speakers mentioned in the presentation are represented in this collection.